

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

Trade Union Conditions in Hungary

DOCUMENTS

PRESENTED BY THE MISSION OF INQUIRY
OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

(August-September 1920)



GENEVA

1921

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CONTENTS

PART I

DATA OF THE INQUIRY

	Pages
<i>Chapter I.</i> — Trade Union Organizations	1-11
<i>Chapter II.</i> — Existing Legislation	12-23
<i>Chapter III.</i> — The Atmosphere	24-47

PART II

THE INQUIRY

<i>Chapter I.</i> — Information received from the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions . .	49-60
<i>Chapter II.</i> — Suspension and Dissolution of Trade Unions	61-106
<i>Chapter III.</i> — Statements received from the Federation of Christian Trade Unions	107-109
<i>Chapter IV.</i> — The Government Reply	110-114
<i>Chapter V.</i> — The Employers' Standpoint	115-120
<i>Chapter VI.</i> — Mine Administration	121-184
<i>Chapter VII.</i> — The Trade Unions and Politics	185-189



2
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

On May 1, 1920, a telegram was received by the International Labour Office from Count Teleki, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary, as follows :

The Hungarian Government learns from a reliable source that certain persons are endeavouring to prejudice public opinion abroad against the present Government of Hungary. In order once and for all to refute these calumnies and to put our case in its true light, the Hungarian Government requests the International Labour Office to send to Hungary, as soon as possible, a Delegation composed of as many members as possible, who will be able to enter into direct relations with the leaders of the Hungarian workers and with the Hungarian Government, and to form a just estimate of the position. The Delegates will be able by personal experience to satisfy themselves of the gross inaccuracy of the biased rumours current regarding the so-called "White Terror" and the persecution of the workers.

COUNT TELEKI.

Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hungary.

In reply, the Director of the International Labour Office informed the Government of Hungary that the institution of so important a Mission must be left to the decision of the Governing Body of the Office, which was to meet in Genoa on June 8.

The Director laid the communication of the Hungarian Government before the Governing Body at its fourth session

at Genoa. In his report he touched briefly on the controversies and disputes which had arisen on the subject of the position of the trade unions in Hungary. He drew attention to the significance, in the disturbed state of public opinion, of such an appeal to an impartial inquiry by the International Labour Office, when it was barely established. He asked the Governing Body to give a favourable reply to the request of the Hungarian Government.

The Governing Body did not think it feasible to appoint official delegates from the different groups of its own members, *i. e.* Government, Employers', and Workers' representatives. Several members pointed out that the question under consideration appeared to be of an essentially political nature; they feared that any action on the part of the Governing Body might constitute an awkward precedent, which might be invoked in the future by any political or industrial party; that the very manner of raising the question might lead to the supposition that a Mission of the Governing Body was assuming the functions of a judge, to which it had no title.

Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the functions of the International Labour Office, in the words of Article 396 of the Peace Treaty, include "the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour": recalling, moreover, that Part XIII of the Peace Treaty specifically mentions freedom of association as one of the rights which should be guaranteed to the workers, the Governing Body authorized the Director to send to Hungary certain investigators, for whom he would accept responsibility, to collect such facts as the Government and the workers' organizations of Hungary wished to lay before them.

The Director had hoped to be able to send representatives of employers and workers' organizations to Hungary, but

this proved to be impossible. The Mission was therefore composed of three members of the staff of the International Labour Office : Mr. William Martin, Mr. Pardo, and Mr. Blumel.

After some negotiations with the Hungarian Government, the Mission set out. The following is an extract from the instructions given to our colleagues :

“The first object of the Mission, according to the discussions on the Governing Body, must be to inquire whether the right of association mentioned in the Preamble to Part XIII of the Peace Treaty is respected; or, in the words of Article 427 of the Peace Treaty, ‘the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.’

“It may be that at the moment the political and revolutionary character of certain trade unions is under discussion in Hungary. It may be that previous inquiries have not done much to elucidate the situation. The duty of our investigators is, on this point, to collect as much evidence, etc., as possible.”

In addition, our colleagues were instructed to collect as much information as possible regarding the working and living conditions of the workers of Hungary. They were also to consider the establishment of relations between the Hungarian Government and the International Labour Organization.

Mr. William Martin arrived in Budapest on August 8, in order to prepare the way for the Mission and to make arrangements for its work with the Government. Mr. Pardo and Mr. Blumel joined him on August 24. The three members of the Mission left Hungary together on September 10.

During their stay our colleagues endeavoured, first, to collect abundant written data on the subject of their inquiry, the texts of laws, ministerial decrees, circulars, and proposed

bills, also, as will be seen later, notes by competent persons on the most important points in their inquiry. They analysed these documents and drew up a questionnaire on disputed points. They questioned persons who were in disagreement; they even, when possible, held open discussions between opposing parties, as in the case of their inquiry at the mines at Salgótarján.

They did not attach to their report all the documents, evidence, and statements which they received, as the majority of persons questioned asked them, for political reasons, to observe the greatest discretion with regard to their communications.

Interviews between members of the Mission and Hungarian nationals took place in French, German, or Hungarian. When the two first languages were used, conversation was carried on directly, without necessitating the services of an interpreter, as all three members of the Mission spoke French and two of them German. When Hungarian was spoken, the Mission did not employ one interpreter only, but several interpreters, as it would have been difficult to take the same person into such different circles. Sometimes the interpreter was a member of the staff of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, whose services the President of the Council placed at the disposal of the Mission, as liaison officer between the Mission and the public authorities of the Kingdom of Hungary; sometimes, especially when meeting the workers, the secretaries of the trade unions concerned spoke German; once the Mission had recourse to the services of a sworn interpreter from the Inter-Allied Danube Commission.

Our colleagues endeavoured to interview people of the most diverse and opposing views. They had long and frequent interviews with the heads of employers' associations, the leaders of the different workers' organizations, the Ministers

of the Interior, of Justice, and of Commerce, and with the many officials whose work came within the scope of their investigations. They were also received by the Head of the State, Admiral Horthy.

They did not restrict their inquiries to the capital. They visited the mining districts of Tatabánya and of Salgótarján. On the return journey they visited Szeged, in order to study the trade union movement in a town which had never been under Communist rule.

The representatives of the International Labour Office met with a cordial reception in all quarters. They had to thank the Government of the Kingdom, and more especially Count Teleki, for the way in which the execution of their task had been facilitated. They had also to thank Count Stephen Csáky, who was invaluable in maintaining relations with the public authorities of the Kingdom, and who rendered most valuable service by his knowledge of French and his courtesy.

The present Report is confined to an objective impersonal publication of the documents collected by our colleagues, without any additional comment. It is for public opinion alone to form its own impression from this collection of documents. It was to public opinion rather than to the International Labour Office that Count Teleki appealed, and it is for the benefit of public opinion, through the work of the Office, that these documents are now published.

One remark is, nevertheless, called for, one often made but never too clearly emphasized, — the difficulty and complexity of the problem on which public opinion is asked to decide.

The Preamble to Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, in enumerating the conditions of the workers' life which call for improvement, mentioned 'recognition of the principle of

freedom of association. In Article 427, as recalled in our instructions, the Treaty also claimed the principle of 'the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.' The representatives of the workers' organizations on the Governing Body have continuously demanded that this fundamental right, which they consider an essential means towards social reform, should be universally respected.

Now there is hardly any Government to be found, even among those most often accused of violating the right of association, which denies this right to the workers. Almost all Governments have laws embodying the principle and regulating the exercise of the right of association. When trade unions are prosecuted, it is in the majority of cases on the ground of political or revolutionary tendencies. In a great number of countries today, in fact, the trade union organizations have declared themselves neutral in the political sphere; they claim that they are attached to no political party. But even so, when these same organizations declare, as they frequently do, that their object is the abolition of the wage system and the reform of the system of ownership, some Governments consider such a programme to be a political programme.

If, among the organizations proclaiming this as their final goal, a distinction is drawn between those who use legal means and those who advocate recourse to illegal means, cases arise in which, in the eyes of Governments, even legal action appears to assume a revolutionary character. A strike is legal, but there are few Governments which have not considered a general strike as an act of doubtful legality. Further, there are cases in which a strike of organizations whose work is essential to the life of the community appeared

to have a political significance, even when its objects were exclusively industrial.

It is not for us to propose solutions here; none were propounded by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Perhaps this problem, like so many political problems, has no final solution. Such a problem can only find progressive solution in the manifold development of political theory, in everyday life, and in the progress of laws and customs.

The documents brought back from Hungary by our colleagues will perhaps help to elucidate this problem. In any case, they will contribute towards fixing the standard by which nowadays a State is termed progressive or reactionary, and which will perhaps be used in the future, when the International Labour Organization is endowed with the full authority which is its due, to establish principles of impartial judgment and verdicts which will be respected.

PART I

DATA OF THE INQUIRY

CHAPTER I

Trade Union Organizations

As an introduction to the evidence which has been collected with regard to trade union rights and the regulation of conditions of labour in Hungary, a brief review of the political situation seems necessary.

After the defeat of the armies of the Dual Monarchy, political events developed very rapidly in Hungary; on October 20, 1918, King Charles VI requested Count Michael Károlyi to form a Cabinet, Hungary declared its independence on the 31, and on November 16 the Republic was officially proclaimed; these events are known in Hungary as the "October Revolution". The Károlyi Government remained in power from October 31, 1918, to March 21, 1919, when Count Michael Károlyi "handed over the power to the Hungarian proletariat", and a Communist Government replaced the Hungarian Democratic Government. The system of People's Commissaries, the most remarkable of whom was Béla Kún, lasted exactly 133 days. The Roumanian troops defeated the "Red" army and occupied the capital; the Communist Government was dissolved, and on August 1, 1919, a Socialist Government was formed with Mr. Peidl as President.

One part of Hungary, however, had remained outside the Communist sphere of jurisdiction. Thanks to the French occupation, a counter-revolutionary army was able to assemble at Szeged under Mr. Nicolas Horthy, a former admiral of the Austro-Hungarian fleet. This army entered Budapest after the fall of the Hungarian Communist Government and a few days later than the Roumanian army, and was then dispersed throughout the country in the form of military detachments for the purpose of restoring order.

Counter-revolutionary elements now began to be active, the Peidl Ministry proved short-lived, and on August 7 it fell; Mr. Friedrich assumed power, and the Archduke Joseph was nominated provisional Regent of the kingdom. The Allies, fearing the Hapsburg Monarchy, insisted on the abdication of the Archduke Joseph, and he resigned on August 23. The Entente was particularly anxious to have a Government established which included all parties and would be able to conclude peace; accordingly they sent Sir George Clerk to Hungary as plenipotentiary. He succeeded in securing the resignation of Mr. Friedrich on November 24, 1919. The Huszár Ministry was formed and lasted until March

18, 1920. Meantime, on January 24, the elections to the National Assembly were held, and on March 1, 1920, Mr. Nicolas Horthy was elected Governor ¹ of the Realm of Hungary.

On March 18 Mr. Huszár was succeeded by Mr. Simonyi-Semadam, who signed the Treaty of Peace with the Allies. After a Ministerial crisis which lasted six weeks, this Ministry was replaced by that of Count Teleki, which is still in power.

This was the situation when the Mission arrived in Hungary. Its first task was to inquire what workers' organizations actually existed in Hungary, for these constituted in a sense a part of the "data" of its investigations.

* * *

Neglecting a minority group of national trade unions led by Mr. Csizmadia, a deputy to the National Assembly, one may say that there are in Hungary two large trade union federations: the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, and the National Federation of Hungarian National Christian Social Unions.

The first mentioned was founded in 1890 by the establishment of a Trade Union Council, an organization similar to the C. G. T. (*Confédération Générale du Travail*, France). Its development since that date is shown in the following table: ²

Year	No. of organized Socialist workers
1901	9,999
1902	15,270
1903	41,138
1904	53,169
1905	71,173
1906	129,332
1907	130,120
1908	102,054
1909	85,260
1910	86,478
1911	95,180
1912	111,966

Under the Károlyi Government, from October 1918 to March 1919, restrictions affecting trade union liberties were removed, and unions of railwaymen, of postal employees, and of workers in State employment were freely formed; large numbers of demobilized soldiers joined the unions, and the membership of the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions increased considerably. On December 31, 1913, the Hungarian unions had 107,408 members, while at the end of 1919 they had 212,408, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. However,

¹ Though the title "Governor" is used by the Hungarians, that of "Regent" or "Protector" would perhaps be more correct, for Mr. Horthy exercises functions and enjoys the prerogatives of regent or protector.

² Taken from the *Tenth International Report on the Trade Union Movement*, Berlin, 1912, p. 448.

if we compare the membership during the first and second quarters of 1919 with the membership during the third and fourth quarters, we find a very considerable decrease, due to loss of territory,¹ to the fall of the Károlyi Government and of the Communist régime, to the re-imposition of the restrictions concerning the formation of trade unions, and finally, to the growth of unemployment, which still further thinned the ranks of the trade unions.

The fluctuations in the membership of the Hungarian unions since 1913 are shown in the following table:

	Year	No. of members
	1913	107,488
	1914	51,510
	1915	43,381
	1916	55,338
	1917	215,222
	1918	721,437
1st quarter	1919	800,936
2nd »	1919	1,422,420
3rd »	1919	452,670
4th »	1919	212,408

These figures show the effect of the Revolution on the unions. In April, May and June, there were still almost half a million workers, manual and non-manual, belonging to trade unions. During these three months the percentages of the total comprised in the following groups were: industrial workers, 46.09 %; agricultural workers, 28.13 %; State and municipal employees, 17.62 %; private employees, 8.16 %.

It should be pointed out that in 1913 the Hungarian trade unions included members drawn from Greater Hungary, whereas now they are confined to Hungarian territory as defined by the Peace Treaty.

At present, therefore, the membership of the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, according to its own figures, is 212,000. (For the membership of the various affiliated unions see annexed table, pp. 4 and 5). The organization and the character of these unions will be described later; for the present it will be enough to state that, though not officially connected with the Hungarian Social Democratic party, the members of the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions are Social Democrats. The two organizations have always been in close touch with one another, though the constitution of the Federation shows no trace whatever of a political tendency. That is of course forbidden by law.

The National Federation of Hungarian National Christian Unions was founded in 1906, but it cannot really be said to have developed to any great extent until after the fall of Communism. According to the figures which we received from the Federation its present membership is 190,064.² (See list on pp. 6-7).

We considered it necessary to supplement this information and we questioned the leaders of the Federation.

¹ Formerly Hungary had an area of 325,000 km. By the Treaty of Trianon that area is reduced to 82,000 km. Before the war the population was 21 millions, while today it is only 7 millions.

² It should be noted here that at an interval of a week the leaders of the Federation of Christian Unions gave two figures of their membership to two members of the Mission. The first figure was 160,000, the second 190,064.

CENTRAL FEDERATION OF HUNGARIAN TRADE UNIONS

Organizations	Number of members on Dec. 31, 1918	Number during 1919					Average Number	Number of members on June 30, 1920
		1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Men	Women	
1. Workers in gold	902	1,200	3,125	3,270	1,200	1,200	—	976
2. Miners	40,616	76,643	61,487	46,337	24,457	24,457	—	18,000
3. Insurance officials . . .	2,343	4,890	5,910	5,231	4,667	2,167	2,500	4,667
4. Barbers and hairdressers	1,839	6,800	6,916	6,859	6,916	5,572	1,344	6,916
5. Carriers.	3,170	1,650	2,200	2,200	1,600	1,400	200	600
6. Leather workers	1,651	2,848	3,011	1,107	623	573	50	500
7. Shoemakers	10,068	16,812	19,876	4,785	6,533	5,813	720	5,342
8. Confectioners	4,320	2,487	2,904	880	644	244	400	644
9. Tobacco workers	11,392	3,152	9,060	9,959	5,250	180	5,070	5,250
10. Workers engaged in food industries	10,299	9,429	9,830	9,610	6,310	5,940	370	6,310
11. Masons	21,685	38,324	128,582	62,987	38,729	38,729	—	25,000
12. Woodworkers	19,359	37,741	39,125	13,544	5,554	5,400	154	9,525
13. Painters.	2,255	2,058	2,028	659	389	384	5	37,725
14. Photographers	360	1,015	1,098	1,161	688	344	344	225
15. Transport workers . . .	8,500	13,500	17,000	20,000	500	3,500	—	3,500
16. Agricultural workers (a) .	44,000	45,000	40,000	—	—	—	—	—
17. Grain workers	1,476	700	700	700	700	700	—	700
18. Lithographers	787	1,020	1,078	1,097	949	779	200	971
19. Butcher's apprentices . .	11,000	3,988	4,349	1,202	334	253	81	1,250
20. Factory clerks	24,464	23,478	28,415	10,405	5,003	3,879	1,124	4,659
21. Office employees	2,000	5,632	13,751	5,061	450	450	—	4,000
22. Hatters	250	260	325	210	200	156	44	200
23. Apprentices in commercial undertakings . . .	7,067	15,204	33,296	14,042	6,767	5,339	1,428	8,051

	75	78	78	78	70	75	49	26	75	75
24. Glovers			7,312	7,344	7,310	7,322	5,563	1,759	7,504	7,200
25. Printers	8,231		5,000	5,462	5,344	4,558	1,748	2,810	5,073	3,771
26. Book-binders	5,000		20,000	36,000	36,000	8,000	4,800	3,200	24,600	8,000
27. Private employees	23,000		448	547	540	450	450	—	566	443
28. Moulders	20,929		10,464	9,226	4,093	653	653	—	9,073	653
29. Millers	1,800		1,400	1,300	1,300	1,000	700	300	1,360	1,000
30. Workers' Insur. official	4,770		6,000	17,000	17,000	5,000	3,980	1,020	9,954	5,000
31. Bank employees	220	224		228	220	218	200	18	222	218
32. China & porcelain workers	23,148	15,890	30,071	30,071	6,289	3,411	2,300	1,111	15,562	6,330
33. Tailors	30,108	31,436	51,132	51,132	14,438	3,853	2,119	1,734	26,193	3,853
34. Café & restaurant waiters	330	320	330	330	310	300	300	—	318	250
35. Sculptors	2,520	2,520	2,520	2,520	400	400	400	—	1,672	400
36. Brewery workers	1,579	4,571	7,277	7,277	582	730	431	299	2,948	730
37. Tile makers	2,746	2,935	2,960	2,960	326	337	327	10	1,961	1,100
38. Glass workers	11,700	7,500	16,800	16,800	9,000	1,200	200	1,000	9,240	4,750
39. Textile workers	81,572	105,540	169,315	169,315	111,771	49,182	46,238	2,944	103,476	50,883
40. Metal workers										
41. Railwaymen (manual and nonmanual) (a)	133,826	133,826	133,826	133,826	—	—	—	—	—	—
42. Municipal workers (g)	26,673	26,673	26,373	26,373	—	—	—	—	—	—
43. Chemical workers	26,300	9,781	15,375	15,375	936	3,456	3,456	—	12,855	5,000
44. Tramway workers (d)	10,248	10,248	10,248	10,248	—	—	—	—	—	—
45. Newspaper vendors	2,172	2,200	2,000	2,000	1,020	500	350	150	1,578	500
46. Porters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,500
47. Domestic servants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	981
48. Musicians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,882
49. Chemists (b)	1,495	1,494	1,495	1,495	—	—	—	—	—	—
50. Civil servants (c)	70,967	80,000	80,000	80,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
51. Engineers (d)	1,147	1,147	1,147	1,147	—	—	—	—	—	—
	721,437	800,936	1,422,420	1,422,420	452,670	212,408	181,993	30,415	721,974	215,889

a, b, c, e, g, have been suspended; d, has amalgamated with the factory clerks' union.

Before the Revolution, they told us, it was impossible for us to develop ; we had only eight or nine organizations with from 12,000 to 13,000 members. From the beginning of the Karolyi régime we were confronted with very great difficulties. Three days after the Commune was proclaimed, our offices were invaded, our papers seized and scattered, our offices closed, our money and our post office accounts seized, our organization dissolved. Our members were at first confined to their own houses, forbidden to take the slightest part in any agitation, and even to go out. Later, most of them fled, and when the commune fell, we were all on the proscription lists. Under these conditions our organizations naturally became secret counter-revolutionary bodies and did not wholly lose touch with their members. When the counter-revolution triumphed, we at once summoned a great conference here at Budapest in order to celebrate it; from that moment our movement revived.

LIST OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNIONS AFFILIATED TO THE NATIONAL FEDERATION.

1. Unions in existence from 1906 to 1919.

1. Civil Servants.
2. Shoemakers and leather workers.
3. Tobacco workers (men and women).
4. Masons.
5. Wood workers.
6. Bookbinders.
7. Tailors and tailoresses.

2. Unions in existence after August 1, 1919.

1. Civil servants	7,235
2. Employees in banks and law-courts.	6,109
3. Miners and blast-furnace men	15,000
4. Shoemakers and leather workers	2,340
5. Tobacco workers	3,500
6. Hospital nurses and attendants (men and women) . .	6,000
7. Waiters in hotels, restaurants, and cafés	3,700
8. Food industries	600
9. Masons and foremen	3,200
10. Wood workers	700
11. Barbers and hairdressers	400

12. Domestic servants	5,000
13. Hawkers	680
14. Butchers (assistants)	1,000
15. Employees in commerce and industry	1,200
16. Private teachers	2,000
17. Chimney sweeps	500
18. Bookbinders	800
19. Clerks	3,800
20. Gardeners	300
21. Private employees	5,900
22. Millers	300
23. Printers	200
24. Transport workers	1,400
25. Painters (in building trade)	350
26. Tailors and tailoresses	900
27. Textile workers	1,500
28. Railwaymen	60,000
29. Post Office employees	12,000
30. Electrical workers (manual and non-manual)	8,000
31. Metal workers	10,000
32. Municipal employees	12,000
33. Workers employed in chemical industries	800
34. Agricultural workers and small landholders	6,000
35. Workers in tile factories	600
36. Workers in wash-houses	400
37. Seamen	200
38. Bank and savings-bank employees	3,200
39. Musicians	350
Total	190,064

Now we have 42 organizations, but our membership is not stationary and we shall increase it rapidly. Some unions have joined us *en bloc*, as for example the railwaymen's union; owing to irregularities in the financial affairs of the committee, the General Conference dissolved the union and decided to adhere to the Christian Union, as the electrical workers also have decided to do. In such cases we are very careful, for we do not want to have members who do not join us from conviction.

We then asked them :

Q. — What is the difference between your programme and that of the Social Democrats ? ¹

¹ The object of the organization is to defend and promote, in accordance with Christian principles, by legal methods, the material and moral interests of the members, ameliorating their conditions of labour by mutual aid, and defending their interests on a patriotic and Christian basis without entering upon political and religious discussions. (Extract from the rules of the Woodworkers' Union (Christian Social).)

A. — The essential difference is that they are Marxist and international, while we are national. We give our country's interests the first place in our programme. They are "judaized" and preach class hatred, and the social revolution. *We* aim at social peace. We are constructive — they are destructive. Our programme demands profit-sharing, social relief, and committees for control of and participation in the management of undertakings. In the economic sphere we aim at a reduction in the cost of living rather than an increase in wages.

Q. — Has there never been an agreement between you and the Hungarian trade unions?

A. — During the war agreements were made on some few occasions, particularly when the workers put forward their demands in munition factories at Pecs and in several other places. These instances of co-operation have occurred only in places where the Christian Socialists are in the majority; there has never been an agreement between the central bodies of the two Federations.

We are not opposed to strikes on principle, and we acknowledge that they are justifiable and expedient in certain circumstances. Recently our unions organized two strikes, one in power stations, the other in a weaving mill in Budapest: but these strikes were of short duration, as their objects were soon gained. We look upon a strike as a weapon to be used only as a last resource when all other means of agreement have been exhausted; a strike should never be called except to enforce legitimate demands. However, it must not be forgotten that we are still passing through a period of great mental disturbance in which strikes may lead to agitation of a non-trade-union character, and in consequence they ought at present to be avoided as far as possible.

The Christian Socialists complain that they are threatened with violent treatment at the hands of the Social Democrats.

At Tatabánya, in one shift the Social Democrats threatened, when once underground, to render the lives of the Christians unendurable. In some factories in Budapest, they added, it is even now almost impossible for Christian workers to find employment. The printers have a Mutual Aid and Benevolent Society. The management of the society is in the hands of the Social Democrats, and they have decided that those who are not members of their union can not be members of this society and will lose all the advantages they have acquired. Obviously even Christian members of the Society are compelled to continue paying subscriptions to the union affiliated to the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions. ”

We questioned the printers’ union belonging to the Central Federation on the subject of this Printers’ Mutual Benefit Society. The reply was as follows :

At one time there were three organizations: the Union, a Mutual Benefit Society, and the Free Union. These three organizations have united to form one single organization. Naturally, if a worker leaves the union, he loses the advantages he has acquired in the Benefit Society and the right to inclusion in the collective agreement.

We were further informed that it was not true that the members of the union terrorized the Christian Socialists, and that they merely prevented the development of a breach between the organizations. On the other hand, the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions accuses the National Federation of Christian Social Unions of having in some districts taken offices which formerly belonged to the unions affiliated to the Central Federation. The Christian Socialists replied :

No, that is not what has occurred. Certain Social Democratic unions have amended their rules and have joined us, for example the hospital nurses and attendants and the electricians, but their offices and their funds cannot belong to us. It is not true that we have taken offices from the Social Democrats.

The National Federation of Hungarian Christian Social Unions is officially allied to the Christian Socialist Party, which is one of the parties forming the Coalition Government. We asked each of the two organizations its opinion as to the membership of the other, and also ascertained the employers’ opinion. The Christian Socialists declare :

The names of some of our members may appear both on our lists and on those of the Socialists, but that does not imply that they have not joined us from conviction.

Under the Commune the Socialist Unions insisted upon their members paying a year's subscription in advance, and the figures supplied by the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions are those of *last December* ¹ which include all these members. There are workers who subscribe to both organizations; but there have always been some who did so. Some workers, who formerly could not work in the factories unless they were members of a Social Democratic union, none the less subscribed to our union as well. After all, the number who do this is very small.

They consider that the membership figure supplied to us by the Central Federation is much exaggerated. On the other hand, the Central Federation told us that the figures given by the Christian Social Unions were very far from correct. They explained to us that considerable pressure was brought to bear on State and municipal employees in order to make them join the Christian Social Unions.

All our comrades, they continued, have remained loyal in spite of everything: in order to keep their work many have been compelled to join a Christian union, otherwise they would have been discharged; but they remain members of our union and the other exists in appearance only.

The Christian unions assert (see the table) that they have among their members 60,000 railwaymen (one third of their total membership).

In a memorandum — given in full in a later chapter — the railwaymen's federation (Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions) replies:

We have no means of checking this statement, but we flatly deny it. At the time of the ballot for the election of the committee of the Consumers' Co-operative Society, a coalition formed by the Christian Socialists, the Awakening Magyars ², the National Union, and other Christian societies, supported by the railway administration, obtained only 6,762

¹ This is a mistake, as the Central Federation gave us its numbers up to June 30, 1920.

² The *Ebredő Magyarok* (Awakening Magyars) are a political Nationalist group.

votes, while the Social Democrats, though threatened with discharge or internment, obtained 6,682.”

The employers, who were unanimous on this point, say that the figure given for the membership of the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions (212,000) may be correct. On the other hand they showed great surprise when we spoke of the membership of the National Federation of Christian Social Unions, and declared that their figure is very much exaggerated.

CHAPTER II

Existing Legislation

In view of the character of the complaints lodged, and of the request made by the Hungarian Government, the first task of the Mission was to collect all information concerning existing legislation. Two possibilities had to be considered ; labour legislation in Hungary might be Draconian, and grant none of the liberties accorded by modern legislation in most countries ; or, on the other hand, labour legislation might be similar to that of other countries but be persistently violated by the Government. We asked the Hungarian Government to assist us in our inquiries concerning the exact position.

The Memorandum which we reproduce below was transmitted to us on August 27 by the Public Safety Department of the Ministry of the Interior. It is in two parts ; the first refers particularly to legislation ; the second, which we will reproduce further on, deals with the dissolution of trade unions and sentences passed on them.

MEMORANDUM OF THE HUNGARIAN MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR. PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENT

The right of association in Hungary is based fundamentally on Orders 1394 B.M./1873 and 1508 B.M./1875.

In order that an association may be founded and may begin its activities, a draft of its constitution must first be submitted to and be approved by the Hungarian Government. According to the Orders cited above and according to juridical custom having the force of law, the approval of the Government cannot be refused unless the constitution submitted is prejudicial to the interests of the State or the material interests of the members, or is contrary to the established legal principles which we set forth hereafter.

Associations whose objects are fundamentally different cannot be formed under the same name with the same constitution ; thus charitable associations, educational associations, and economic associations must each have their own constitution. Labour associations cannot admit as members any but Hungarian subjects.

The question of the foundation of affiliated associations is decided in each individual case according to the objects, the purpose, and the character of the trade association in question. Labour associations cannot have affiliated labour associations.

The term "labour association" is understood to include only associations founded under the law on industry of 1884. Other associations, even if founded by workers, are classed with associations in general, whether founded by workers or not. In every case the constitution must include a clause on the government's right of supervision (Order 1508 B./M. 1875, Article IX of Appendix).

The right and duty of supervising associations is in the first instance one of the functions of the local authorities. It is the duty of the latter to supervise carefully the doings of associations formed and operating within their jurisdiction, and particularly to see that they do not exceed the limits imposed by the approved constitution of the association. If activities contrary to these rules are observed by the authorities themselves, or are brought to their notice by definite accusations, the local authorities shall direct an inquiry to be made concerning the association in question.

If the continuance of the activities of the association is likely to prove detrimental to the interests of the State or the material interests of the members, the Hungarian Government may suspend the association and, according to the result of the official inquiry, may even order its dissolution.

In case of dissolution the association is free to dispose of its property as it pleases, subject, however, to the condition that this property cannot be divided among the members of the association. The decision concerning the disposal of the property of the association must be approved by the Hungarian Government before it is put into effect.

If dissolution is ordered after an official inquiry by the Hungarian Government, the latter is entitled to dispose of

the property of the association, but may only do so in favour of an association with similar objects.

The outbreak of the world war in 1914 made it necessary to restrict the right of association to some extent in so far as the foundation of new associations was concerned. In pursuance of Act LXIII of 1912, concerning Exceptional Measures in Case of War, the Hungarian Government issued the decrees 5479/1914 and 5735/1914 M. E., which provided for stricter supervision of the activity of associations and forbade the foundation of new associations. The decree 1442/1916 M. E. exempted from this prohibition new associations, independent and affiliated, which might be of use in the conduct of the war or in connection with war charities.

The pressing dangers following upon the world war, which threatened the very existence of the State, have made it impossible entirely to remove the restrictions imposed upon the right of association; accordingly the decree 5084/1919 M. E. provides only for the approval of the rules of those associations whose formation is desirable in the public interest.

The extraordinary events of the last two years, and more particularly the Communist agitation, recently fanned by the advance of the Russian Bolsheviks, have caused the Government to modify the right of association and assembly by issuing decree 6622/1920 M. E., which, with a view to rendering the supervision of the Government more effective, provides that all meetings of associations must be notified in advance. Owing to *a liberal laxity in the right of inspection and supervision*, it has happened that associations deviated from their constitutions, developed anti-national activities tending to promote disorder, and, in violation of their constitutions, have used for the benefit of purely political ideals the moral prestige which they had acquired for very different objects, for industrial objects for example. Further, they have often neglected their real aims and by their use of terrorist methods have deprived their members of all freedom

of opinion and speech. In this way they have imperilled their moral ascendancy and more than once have sacrificed the property of the association derived from private donations. Individuals and self-seeking groups have also in some instances skilfully availed themselves of the considerable power of the associations to promote their own interests.

The decree referred to above does not fetter the activities of the associations and, within the limits fixed by their constitution, their independence of action: it merely allows the Government authorities to supervise the lawful activities of the associations more effectively than heretofore for the good of the State and the members.

As a proof that this decree has no anti-labour political tendency, we may cite the instructions given under No. 55010/1920 B. M., which expressly state for the benefit of the authorities that labour associations cannot be prevented from exercising their functions, in so far as they abide by their constitutions and devote themselves to the objects set forth therein. The same instructions stipulate that governmental supervision must be exercised without unnecessary interference with associations whose activities are in conformity with their constitutions.

We give below the text of the various laws and orders.

ORDER No. 5084/1919 M.E. OF THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT
CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION AND ASSEMBLY¹

1.

The Hungarian Government revokes the provisions of Decrees No. 4969/1910 M.E. and 4970/1919 M.E. concerning the Removal of Restrictions on the Right of Association and Assembly and also the provisions of Act III of 1919. concerning Freedom of Association and Assembly, and restores the statutory regulations which were in force on October 30, 1918.

¹ Article 1 of this Order revokes the administrative provisions made by the Karolyi Government to ensure freedom of association and assembly.

2.

Associations whose constitutions have been approved by the Government authorities may continue or resume their activities in accordance with their approved constitutions.

3.

In the case of associations whose constitutions have not been approved by the Government authorities, within 30 days of the coming into operation of the present Order, the Executive Committee must submit the constitution of the association to the Minister of the Interior to obtain the necessary approval in accordance with the statutory regulations in force.

Such associations must at once suspend their activities until such time as their constitutions have been approved.

Further, within the same period of 30 days laid down in paragraph 1, any amendment of the approved constitution which has not yet been approved must be submitted for approval to the Minister of the Interior. Pending the approval of such amendments the activities of the association, in accordance with Article 2, must not exceed the limits imposed by the approved constitution of the association.

4.

The Minister of the Interior is authorized by the Government to exceed the powers conferred by Decree No. 1442/1916 and to allow exemptions to the prohibition imposed by Decree 5479/1919 M. E., article 1, relating to the foundation of new associations, independent or affiliated, in favour of independent or affiliated associations, the formation of which seems to him desirable in the national interest.

5.

Any person who infringes the provisions of articles 2 and 3, or who evades them, shall be considered guilty of a misdemeanour and shall be liable to a fine of 2000 crowns and imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

It shall be one of the functions of administrative authorities, such as police authorities of the lower grades, to enforce the provisions of this Decree, except in the district under the jurisdiction of the State police of Budapest, where it shall be a function of the State police.

6.

This Decree shall come into force on the day of its promulgation, and the Minister of the Interior shall be charged with its execution.

Budapest, September 30, 1919.

(Signed) STEPHEN FRIEDRICH,
President of the Council.

ORDER NO. 6622/1920 M.E. OF THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT
CONCERNING MEETINGS AND ASSEMBLIES

In pursuance of Act No. LXIII of 1912, articles 9 and 10, the Royal Hungarian Government decrees :

1.

The presidents of independent or affiliated associations whose constitutions have been approved by the Government authorities must notify, in writing, the competent police authorities of every meeting at least three days in advance, giving at the same time the subject, the place, and the exact time of the meeting.

2.

If the police authorities consider the meeting dangerous, prejudicial, or undesirable, from the point of view of the established order of the State, of public safety, or of the public peace, they may forbid the holding of the proposed meeting.

If the police authorities do not give their decision regarding the meeting within 24 hours, it may be assumed that

they have duly taken cognizance of it. An appeal may be lodged against a decision prohibiting a meeting, but the meeting cannot be held.

3.

The police authorities may be present at the meeting, and if they consider the tendency of the meeting dangerous, prejudicial, or undesirable, from the point of view of the established order of the State or society, of public safety or public peace, they may disperse the meeting, if necessary with the help of armed forces (*Karhatalom*).

4.

Any person who infringes the above provisions, in as far as his activities do not render him liable to more severe penalties, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour punishable under Act No. LXIII of 1912, article 9. Further, failure duly to notify the police, as provided in article 1, is sufficient to cause the suspension of the activities of the association.

5.

Meetings at which a deputy of the National Assembly wishes to lay before his constituents an account of his work may be exempted from the prohibition contained in article 1 of the Order No. 5481/1914 M.E., concerning the restriction of the right of assembly. But such meetings are subject to the provisions of article 2 of the above Order, as regards obtaining permission from the police in advance and also as regards police supervision.

6.

This decree shall come into force immediately, and the Minister of the Interior shall be entrusted with its execution.

Budapest, August 10, 1920.

(Signed) Count Paul TELEKI,
President of the Royal Hungarian Council.

INSTRUCTION WITH REGARD TO THE ORDER OF THE MINISTER
OF THE INTERIOR, CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF
ASSOCIATION AND ASSEMBLY

It has recently been observed on several occasions that under cover of the right of assembly and association, anti-national and seditious manifestations have taken place which aim at destroying the social and political system recently established.

Further, it has been obvious that such movements endanger public safety, and that individuals sometimes take action without the cognizance of the leaders of their associations. Inasmuch as the prevention and suppression of these movements which endanger law and order are matters of supreme importance to the State, I hereby direct the proper authorities to exercise strict supervision over the execution of the Orders and Decrees which relate to this subject, and to crush at the very outset every attempt directed against the established order of society or against the State, which manifests itself within the sphere of active life or under the pretext of the right of assembly or of private meeting.

Nevertheless, the activities of the unions must not be interfered with so long as they exercise their rights within the limits of their rules and do not pursue objects prejudicial to the State or to society. In particular, the authorities must accord as much freedom as possible when it is a question of authorizing meetings of workers' industrial unions, when these meetings are held for the discussion of industrial questions. While continuing to exercise the necessary supervision, the authorities must avoid even the appearance of political persecution. In general, the authorities must exercise their right of supervision with a combination of patriotism, tact, and energy, without molesting the unions unnecessarily in their activities when their activities are in conformity with their constitutions.

Budapest, August 25, 1920.

(Signed) Dr. FERDINANDY,
Royal Hungarian Minister of the Interior.

ACT VI OF THE YEAR 1920 CONCERNING THE EXTENSION OF
THE DURATION OF THE EXCEPTIONAL POWERS CONFERRED
IN CASE OF WAR

(Published in the Code of National Laws, May 13, 1920.)

I hereby inform all concerned that the National Assembly of Hungary has passed the following law :

1.

In view of the extraordinary circumstances consequent upon the war and the Revolution, the duration of the exceptional powers conferred by the Acts concerning Exceptional Measures in Case of War is prolonged for one year, to be reckoned from the date of the ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

In the aforementioned Acts and in the Decrees whose authority is derived from these Acts, the expression “duration of the war” shall be deemed to mean the duration of the war together with the period for which the duration of the exceptional powers is extended. Where reference is made to “military necessities” this shall be deemed to include the necessities of the internal order of the country, those of public safety, and of external policy.

When the period stipulated in paragraph 1 has expired, the exceptional powers shall lapse and — in so far as this has not already been done — all regulations issued in virtue of these exceptional powers shall be abolished. But if on that date the Legislative Assembly were not constituted, and if it seemed desirable to continue these exceptional powers provisionally, the Government would be authorized to make use of the exceptional powers, even beyond the aforesaid period, for a further period which shall terminate three months after the constitution of the Legislative Assembly.

2.

Even when the exceptional powers have lapsed, until such time as the Legislative Assembly shall have enacted legislation on the subject, the Government may continue, or if

necessary, amend and supplement all the Decrees issued in virtue of the exceptional powers to regulate conditions due to the consequences of the war, if conditions are such as to render this action necessary.

3.

The Government shall publish a Decree giving notice of the date on which, in virtue of article 1, the exercise of exceptional powers is to cease.

4.

This Act shall come into force on the day of its promulgation, and the Government shall be charged with its execution.

I hereby ordain the promulgation of this Act. I shall observe it and cause it to be observed, as the expression of the will of the nation.

Budapest, May 5, 1920.

(Signed) Nicolas HORTHY,
Governor of Hungary.

(Signed) Alexander SIMONYI-SEMADAM,
President of the Council of Royal
Hungarian Ministers.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.¹

A bill had been drafted in 1848 to give complete freedom of association. This bill could not be passed before the fall of the Provisional Government. In its place the Austrian Decree of December 20, 1859, concerning industry, was applied in Hungary from May 1, 1860. This Decree regards the formation of workers' trade union associations as a crime punishable by law. It remained in force until the enactment of a new Act, G.A. VIII of the year 1872, and the promulgation of the Order of March 15, 1872, concerning industry. Clause 93 of the Act declares:

All agreements on the part of employers whose object is, by means of closing the factory or discharging workers,

¹ Imre FERENCZI: *Munkásaink szakszervezeti joga es mozgalmá történeti kialakulásában. (Kölönlenyomat a Közgazdasági Szemléből). (History of the workers' trade union movement and rights).* Berlin, 1906.

Das Koalitionsrecht in Ungarn. Separatabdruck aus Arch. f. Sozialwiss. u. Sozialpol. (The right of association in Hungary. Reprint from Arch. f. Sozialwiss. u. Sozialpol.) Tübingen, 1908.

to compel the latter to accept less favourable conditions of labour and in particular a reduction in wages, and all agreements on the part of workers or apprentices whose object is, by means of a collective stoppage of work, to compel the employer to raise wages or in general to concede more favourable conditions of labour, likewise all agreements whose object is to support those who have concluded such agreements or to oppose those who have rejected them, shall be null and void in the eyes of the law.

Article 94 of the same Decree adds :

Any person who, with the object of promoting the conclusion of the agreements and compacts mentioned in article 93, shall, by use of threats or by assault, prevent the free expression of the wishes of employers and workers or apprentices, shall be liable to a fine of 300 florins and to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 30 days, unless the Penal Code prescribes a more severe penalty.

The provisions of the Order of 1872 are textually repeated in articles 162 and 164 of the Order concerning Industry of the year 1884. The two Orders of 1872 and 1884 contain no clause which explicitly admits the right of association and the right to strike for the purpose of obtaining an increase in wages or more favourable conditions of labour.

Both laws contain a clause imposing penalties for illegal cessation of work by the worker. Article 89 of the Act of 1872 says :

Any apprentice or factory worker who abandons his work illegally may be sent back and compelled to work, by a decision of the industrial authorities, and is liable to a week's imprisonment.

Article 89 of the Act of 1872 became article 159 of the Act of 1884, the penalty being reduced to a fine of 20 florins. The Order of the year 1884 concerning Industry is still in force. In the interval the Penal Code of May 28, 1878, had appeared. Article 177 of this Code contains provisions similar to the provisions given above. Article 177 is to the following effect :

Any person who, in order to bring about an increase or a decrease in wages, commits an act of violence against a worker or an employer, insults him in word or deed, or threatens him with violence, shall be deemed guilty of a crime of violence against a private individual and shall be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

Those who assemble before factories, workshops, or places where workers are employed, or before the residence or dwelling of an employer or manager, with a view to preventing the beginning or the continuance of work, or to inducing workers to abandon their work, shall incur the same penalty.

This paragraph of the Hungarian Penal Code is still in force. The code contains no other clause referring to the workers' right of association. The Penal Code therefore does not expressly make a strike as such a punishable offence, but only assault, violence, or threats which may occur during a strike.

There is no other legislation on the question of the right to strike. Administrative practice up to the present is based on the laws and decrees cited, and on them alone.

CHAPTER III

The Atmosphere

The Mission would run the risk of giving a false picture of Hungarian trade union conditions if it did not publish some reports relating to public life, which show the atmosphere with which Hungarian workers' organizations are surrounded. In the present chapter we have assembled a number of documents, for the most part official in character. These may help to show the significance of the accusations of the trade unions and of the Government replies, which we impartially collected.

ORDER CONCERNING ARREST AND INTERNMENT

(From the Official Gazette of April 10, 1920)

Royal Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, No. 4352/int. 1920

To Superintendents of police in Budapest, to all Commandants of districts, and to all principal officials of local authorities.

§ 1

On the authorization of the Council of Ministers held on November 17, 1919, I establish the following regulations for the placing under police supervision, arrest, and internment of persons who are undesirable on industrial grounds, harmful to the safety of the State or to social peace and order, or dangerous to public safety.

All foreign subjects, with members of their families living under the same roof, whose conduct during their residence in this country renders them

- a) dangerous to the State, to social peace and order, and to public safety,
- b) liable to be deemed undesirable to the State, to social peace and order, and to public safety and order,
- c) harmful to the State, to social peace and order, or to public safety and order, or more precisely, whose activities under present conditions are injurious to our industrial life,

shall be expelled from the territory of this country, and until this takes place shall be interned.

Persons shall be regarded as dangerous who, during the existence of the so-called Soviet Republic, being members of its armed forces, or its agents or persons acting under its authority, committed acts in contravention of the Penal Code.

Persons shall be regarded as undesirable who, in the interests of the establishment or maintenance of the so-called Soviet Republic, or of the overthrowing of social peace and order, have carried on or are carrying on activities which can be reasonably assumed to be dangerous to the safety of the State and of society, and to public safety and order.

Persons shall be regarded as suspect who, since the fall of the so-called Soviet Republic, have carried on propaganda, or whose words or acts have given rise or give rise to the reasonable assumption that they are aiming at the restoration of the so-called Soviet Republic, and consequently, at the violent overthrow of social security and of the social order sanctioned by law.

Persons shall be regarded as injurious to our industrial life who have hindered the supply of commodities to the public by hoarding goods, by speculation, or by actions calculated to increase prices or to cause the exchange to depreciate, or, in general, who evade or attempt to evade orders or regulations concerning legitimate trade and the supply of commodities to the public.

Persons coming under the above categories, with members of their families living under the same roof, may be placed under arrest by authority of the police. (See § 34).

Inhabitants of the occupied territories shall not be regarded as foreign subjects.

§ 2

Persons coming under categories (a), (b) and (c) in § 1 shall be placed under police supervision, or arrested, or

expelled from their domicile or place of residence and placed under arrest in another commune, or interned.

In the case of class *a*) of § 1, arrest and internment cannot be postponed except in case of absolute necessity, (e. g. serious illness, approaching confinement, the vital needs of unweaned infants, etc.). In all cases, however, a thorough investigation of circumstances and more especially of the reasons which call for special treatment must be carefully and reasonably carried out.

Nevertheless, such cases must be kept under strict police supervision for the duration of the period during which the above-mentioned special treatment is in force.

§ 3

Persons are placed under police supervision on the proposal of the local police authorities; sentence is passed by the superior police authorities. Appeals against such decision can be filed with the Ministry of the Interior. If no appeal is filed against such decision, the relevant documents and supervision form will be transmitted to the Ministry of the Interior, which will issue an official confirmation of such decision.

§ 4

Persons are placed under arrest by order of the local police authorities. The latter must, within 24 hours, transmit the decision, the relevant documents, and the supervision form (§ 15) to the superior police authorities, together with a statement of their opinion on the question of expulsion and internment. This statement should contain definite information on the following points:

- a*) The name of the person in question (with the addition of the original name if the latter has been Magyarized).
- b*) Occupation since August 1914.

- c) Place and date of birth, and religion.
- d) Particulars of nationality.
- e) Previous history from a moral and political point of view (especially during the period of Communism).
- f) Financial position and sources of income since August 1, 1914.
- g) The source of information on which the police statement is based and on which action has been taken.

The statement drawn up in the case of persons placed under police supervision shall be the same in form as that for persons placed under arrest.

Appeal can be made to the Ministry of the Interior against sentences of expulsion and internment. In case of appeal the superior police authorities must at once transmit the text of the sentence of expulsion or internment, with the relevant documents and the supervision form, to the Ministry of the Interior. If no appeal is filed, the superior police authorities shall similarly transmit the sentence, the relevant documents, and the supervision form for official confirmation.

The Minister of the Interior has the final decision in all questions of expulsion, of placing under arrest in another commune, and of internment.

Should the competent police authority not recognize the necessity for arrest or internment, or should the Ministry of the Interior reverse the verdict on internment, the state of arrest imposed by the local police authorities ceases to exist, and the prisoner must at once be set at liberty, in the first case by the superior police authorities, and in the second case by the Ministry of the Interior.

Nevertheless, police supervision shall be ordered in such cases until final decision has been passed; the relevant documents, the supervision form, and the report shall be transmitted to the Ministry of the Interior.

§ 5

Appeals against sentences passed in pursuance of the present Decree must be made within three days from the day when sentence was published. They must be presented to the authority passing the sentence against which appeal is being made. Appeal may also be made verbally to such authority, which must in this case draw up a written statement of the appeal. The persons concerned will be informed of the decision by the authority having jurisdiction over them. Should this authority not be identical with the one which passed sentence, the person concerned will be informed of the decision in writing, and in important cases by telegram. A written report with regard to the communication of the decision must be drawn up and must contain a declaration stating whether or not the police authority concerned appeals against the decision.

§ 6

It is the duty of the local police authorities to ascertain, while they are under arrest, the financial position of those persons who have been placed under arrest or police supervision, or against whom criminal or police-court proceedings have been taken since August 1914 on account of misdemeanours of an industrial nature or of Communist tendencies, or whose arrest has been ordered by the courts or the public prosecutor for the purpose of internment. Should they be unable to prove their property to have been legally acquired, and should there be good reason to suspect that it was obtained by crime or misdemeanour, it shall be seized.

§ 7

Such person, from the time when he is placed under arrest, may retain no property except the necessary body-linen, bed-linen and clothes. In particular he may not be in possession of arms or of articles such as knives and

sticks which might be used as weapons, or of money or articles of value. If he is in possession of any such articles, it is his duty to hand them over to the police authorities who arrest him.

§ 8

Such sums of money and articles of value, as well as those which are seized under the provisions of § 6, must be handed in to the local tax collection office. A report must be made to the Ministry of the Interior containing a detailed list of such objects.

§ 9

Objects of public utility found in the possession of a foreign subject placed under arrest, or objects which under existing laws cannot be regarded as liable to seizure, must be sold to officials of the Ministry of Food, or to the local government authorities, at the official fixed prices, or where these do not exist, at the current market price. The money thus received must be handed in to the nearest tax collection office.

§ 10

The local police authorities or the local authorities of the commune shall at once proceed to place the lodging of the interned person at the disposal of the Housing Office for purposes of requisition; nevertheless, the requirements of the members of the family who have not been interned shall be taken into consideration.

§ 11

If the interned person is a Hungarian subject, objects of utility and of prime necessity belonging to him may be left in the possession of members of his family who habitually reside with him, provided that the articles in question are not hoarded stocks.

The said members of his family may also be left sufficient housing accommodation for their needs.

§ 12

No compensation is payable for financial losses arising out of the imposition of police supervision, or out of measures taken by the authorities in relation to expulsion or internment.

§ 13

Persons placed under police supervision :

- a) May not leave the district assigned to them by the police authorities until further orders without permission from the latter.
- b) Are obliged to report in person at the time fixed by the police authorities to the local police authorities, or, if the latter have no office in the district, to the local authorities of the commune. Persons may be required to report not more often than twice a day and not less often than once a week.
- c) Are obliged to give notice within 24 hours to the police or local authorities of their intention to change their residence within the district assigned to them.
- d) Have to submit to certain restrictions of their personal liberty, which are fixed by the police authorities for each individual case: in particular they may be forbidden to leave their residence at certain times of the day, to visit public places, etc. These restrictions must be fixed in such a way that they do not prevent the individual under supervision from following his occupation or earning his living.
- e) May not send telegrams, or use the telephone. Their correspondence is under the control of the police authorities.

f) May be forbidden to visit persons other than their ordinary acquaintances. Communication with such persons can only be allowed in exceptional circumstances, and may only take place in the presence of the supervising authority and with the permission of the police.

Members of the family of a person who has been removed from his usual dwelling and place of lodging and put under police supervision, if they habitually lived with him and if he can support them, may, with the permission of the local police authorities, join him in the district assigned to him. The above-mentioned police authorities may, if they have grounds for taking such action, order the removal of members of his family who have joined him.

§ 14

While a person is under arrest he may not send telegrams; his letters can be forwarded only in exceptional cases, with the permission of the police authorities and under their supervision. He may not use the telephone.

An arrested person may be forbidden to communicate with persons other than his ordinary acquaintances, and in particular with foreign subjects. He may only converse with foreign subjects in exceptional circumstances, with the permission of the police authorities, in presence of the supervising authorities, and in a language which the latter understands.

Arrests may be carried out in case of necessity with the help of armed military forces (*katonai karhatalom*).

§ 15

In the case of all persons to whom the exceptional measures of police orders are applied, the local police authorities shall fill in a supervision form (as attached) in duplicate. One copy must be sent to the Ministry of the

Interior for purposes of central supervision, and one copy must be kept for purposes of local supervision.

Any alterations should be noted at once on the local supervision form, and at the same time notified to the Ministry of the Interior.

§ 16

In the case of all persons to whom the police orders are not applied, but whom it is desirable in the interests of public safety and of industry to keep under continual police supervision, a similar supervision form should be made out and kept in accordance with the instructions in § 15 above.

§ 17

The finger prints of interned persons must be taken. They must be taken on the sheets in use at the Central Office of Criminal Supervision, and sent to the Ministry of the Interior with the supervision forms.

§ 18

The removal of interned persons under the orders of the Ministry of Interior should take place if possible in groups, under police escort, or if necessary under military escort.

Articles of prime necessity left in possession of persons removed to a camp must be entered on a list signed by the commandant of the camp.

§ 19

Persons placed under police supervision or under arrest are subject to the authority of the competent police authorities of the place in which they reside, or, if interned, of the commandant of the camp.

§ 20

Interned persons shall be employed on work which is not injurious to their physical health. All interned persons shall receive the camp rations. The cost of his maintenance shall be covered by the property or income of each interned person. Only those persons who have neither property nor income and are unable to work shall be maintained without charge.

Any interned person may provide his own food at his own expense, and for this purpose may request that the amount of money which has been taken from him, provided it was not liable to seizure, should be handed over to the authorities of the internment camp. The latter will place at his disposal such a sum as is necessary for his requirements for 30 days at a time. Relatives of interned persons may also put money in the charge of the camp authorities for this purpose.

§ 21

Interned persons may not reside in the communes assigned to them except in buildings selected by the Ministry of the Interior. Buildings selected for this purpose should, in general, be large ones in suitable positions, which can be closed at any rate at night. If such buildings are not available, interned persons should be lodged in small groups.

Interned persons may be lodged separately only in case of absolute necessity.

In arranging for lodging interned persons, care should be taken that members of a family living together should be lodged with the head of the family.

The building or part of a building in which interned persons are placed must be closed from outside at night.

§ 22

The commune to which the Ministry of the Interior sends interned persons in accordance with the present

Order shall be bound to receive them, to assist them in their lodging and food arrangements, and to take charge of them (supervision, reporting) and further to keep watch and ward over them.

It is further incumbent on such commune to protect them against attack and injustice, to see that they are humanely treated, and if necessary to supply them with necessary means of support.

As regards public health regulations, the commune should treat them in the same way as its own inhabitants. Accounts for the expenses of supervision, watch and ward, and food arrangements, shall be regulated in accordance with instructions given to the local authorities by the Ministry of the Interior.

§ 23

Internment regulations should be executed with as much leniency as the circumstances require.

Care should be taken that persons who have not previously had an unfavourable record with the police, or who are very young, should not be kept in the same room as those against whom there are previous convictions, or with much older persons, unless their relations.

The social and intellectual standard of interned persons should be taken into account in arranging for their lodging.

All measures of constraint and restriction against interned persons should be avoided except such as are necessary to prevent dangerous meetings and to maintain order and discipline in the camps.

Interned persons may, in so far as this does not interfere with order in the internment camp, obtain at their own expense the comforts to which their social and financial position entitle them. In particular they have the right to wear their own clothes and underwear.

§ 24

The authority entrusted with the carrying out of internment orders must supervise the correspondence of inter-

ned persons and the parcels they receive. In case of contravention or non-observance of this order, restrictions will be placed on the person concerned; he will only be allowed to despatch correspondence in exceptional cases, with the permission and under the control of the police authorities.

Interned persons may not send telegrams or use the telephone.

§ 25

All internments made in accordance with Orders previously in force or with the present Order must be officially revised six months after the date on which the sentence of internment was published. It is the duty of the competent police authorities to make an official revision of all internment orders made in the district under their jurisdiction within the above-mentioned period of six months. Should the reasons for internment have ceased to exist, at the date when such revision is made, or should internment no longer be necessary in view of present circumstances, they shall declare the internment at an end, and shall transmit this decision, with the relevant documents, to the Ministry of the Interior for investigation. Should the police decision to put an end to the internment be upheld by the approval of the Minister of the Interior, the necessary steps for setting the interned person at liberty will be taken at the direct instance of the Minister of the Interior. It is the duty of the competent police authorities, in cases where the Minister of the Interior has ordered internment in accordance with Orders previously in force, to forward a reasoned statement to the Ministry of the Interior, with the relevant documents, giving reasons for continuing or not continuing the internment. This must be done within the above-mentioned period of six months for all cases in the district under their jurisdiction.

The order for internment may, on request, be revised earlier than the above-mentioned period of six months; but only if fresh evidence is forthcoming, which was not known

at the time of the trial. Such requests must be made to the police authorities mentioned in §§ 3 and 4.

§ 26

In order to prevent any administrative difficulties which might impede the decision of the case, it is the duty of the local police to make a dossier of the documents referring to the internment of each Hungarian subject. In the case of foreign subjects, one dossier may include the person concerned and his family.

§ 27

Persons who do not observe the regulations stated above, or regulations based thereon made by the authorities, or persons who aid in contravening them, or who attempt to deceive the authorities by false declarations, are guilty of misdemeanour, and are punishable according to the Law of 1916, IV, § 6., by imprisonment not exceeding a term of 6 months and a fine not exceeding 2,000 crowns.

In case of non-payment of a fine, the term of imprisonment may be increased by an additional three months in excess of the sentence already imposed.

In cases where more than one misdemeanour has been committed, if both fine and imprisonment are imposed, the total term of imprisonment imposed in place of the fine shall not exceed one year.

Prosecutions for misdemeanour lapse after a year, and the penalties imposed after two years.

Trial for misdemeanour is within the competence of the administrative authority which exercises penal police jurisdiction according to existing law.

§ 28

This Order comes into force on the date of its promulgation, and simultaneously Orders No. 91,383/1919 VI. a B.M. and 483/1919 int. m. b. are revoked.

Budapest, March 27 1920.

(Signed) Dr. Alexander SIMONYI-SEMADAM.

ORDER No. 4710/1920 M. 2 OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE ABOLITION OR RESTRICTION OF THE POWERS OF MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND AGENTS AGAINST CIVILIANS

§ 1

The Royal Hungarian Government orders all military formations (including so-called security organizations and detachments) and their agents to desist from action against civilians, and orders that such formations be absorbed by the administration of military justice.

§ 2

In principle, military authorities and their agents, or members of the forces engaged in prosecuting inquiries, may not undertake prosecution of civilians, and may not make inquiry, seizure, or perquisition, or arrest such civilians, except in the cases laid down in § 3.

§ 3

Military authorities and their agents, or members of the forces engaged in prosecuting inquiries, may only take action against civilians in the case of misdemeanours (against the armed forces of the State) defined in § 1 of Order No. 5940/1919 M.E. of the Royal Hungarian Government (see *Official Gazette*, No. 162, November 14, 1919). Seizure, search, perquisition, or arrest may not be carried out even in such cases, except the offender be caught in the act, without a written order from the competent military commanding officer.

A civilian arrested in the act of committing an offence must be charged without delay, and at latest within 48 hours, before the competent military official.

In accordance with § 327 of the Penal Army Code, military authorities and their agents, or members of the forces engaged in prosecuting inquiries, may not take action against

civilians unless the latter commit acts directly hostile to the army or dangerous to its interests.

§ 4

During the transition period required for the passing of legislation to safeguard public and social order, and for the setting up of the authorities necessary for the carrying out of such legislation, the military authorities and their agents shall confine themselves, in the case of misdemeanours committed by civilians, to complying with the requests of the competent civil authorities, and to furnishing the latter with information on all cases of which they have knowledge, together with all possible details and proofs.

§ 5

Military agents who make unlawful use of their powers and act in contravention of the provisions of the above paragraphs should be arrested at once and handed over to the nearest military authorities.

§ 6

This Decree comes into force on the date of its promulgation, and the Royal Hungarian Ministers of the Interior, of Justice, and of National Defence shall be responsible for its execution.

Budapest, June 12, 1920.

(Signed) Alexander SIMONYI-SEMADAM,
President of the Council of Royal
Hungarian Ministers.

BILL CONCERNING THE MORE EFFECTUAL PROTECTION OF PUBLIC
AND SOCIAL ORDER

*Proposed on August 26, 1920, by M. Tomcsányi,
Minister of Justice.*

§ 1

Any person who organizes, directs, or in any other way takes part in any movement or organization tending to sub-

vert or destroy the existing order of the State or of society, or any person who gives support to such a movement or organization, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of from 5 to 10 years if he is the initiator or a leader of the movement or organization, and to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 5 years if he is not a member of such movement or organization.

§ 2

If the movement or organization referred to in § 1 is in possession of any considerable quantity of arms, munitions, explosives, or other instruments which could be used for the destruction of human life, the penalties shall be 10 to 15 years' and 5 to 10 years' imprisonment respectively.

§ 3

If any misdemeanours are committed which are punishable by 15 years' or more of penal servitude, the initiators and leaders of the movement shall incur the death penalty, and the others 10 to 15 years' imprisonment. If a misdemeanour not mentioned in § 1 is committed, the penalty shall be penal servitude for life, or 5 to 10 years' imprisonment.

§ 4

No person who ceases to adhere to the movement before it is discovered shall be punished.

§ 5

No person who denounces the movement to the authorities shall be punished.

§ 6

Any person who has knowledge of such a movement or organization and does not inform the authorities shall be liable to 3 years' imprisonment.

§ 8

Any person who foments or encourages any revolt against existing law and order in the State or in society in circumstances other than those mentioned in § 1, shall, if his

action results in illegal acts or other consequences which are harmful to existing law and order, be liable to a term of penal servitude not exceeding 5 years. If he has carried on propaganda through the press or by any other public means, he shall be liable to a term of 10 years' imprisonment.

§ 9

Any person who, in circumstances other than those laid down in § 1, publicly incites to the perpetration of a crime, shall, if such crime be actually committed, be regarded as the instigator thereof. If the incitement shall have been of no avail, the penalty shall be 5 years' imprisonment.

§ 10

Any person who agitates against the Hungarian Army or against any organization entrusted with the protection of public order and public safety, or any person who criticizes the army, military discipline, or measures taken by the military authorities in a manner which may lead to the relaxation of discipline, is guilty of a misdemeanour and is liable to 5 years' penal servitude. If such misdemeanour has been committed through the medium of the press or in public, the penalty is 5 years' imprisonment. The penalty is 10 years' imprisonment if such misdemeanour was committed with the intention of causing a relaxation of discipline in the army or in any other organization entrusted with the protection of order and public safety. If acts of insubordination in the Hungarian army or other military formations have resulted from such agitation, the penalty shall be 15 years' imprisonment.

§ 11

Any person who makes statements in public defaming the Hungarian nation or who repeats statements which may be injurious to the good name and honour of the Magyar State or nation, or who injures its credit or other important interests, is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is liable to a penalty not exceeding 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of

100,000 crowns. If such misdemeanour is committed in the press or in a foreign country, or before any foreign institution or foreign representative, or with a view to publication in foreign countries, even if not in public, the guilty person shall be punished as a criminal with 5 years' imprisonment.

Any person who instigates any foreign States or organizations to commit an unfriendly act against the Hungarian State and nation is liable to 10 years' imprisonment. If such action actually takes place the penalty shall be imprisonment for life.

§ 12

Any person who makes a statement defaming the Hungarian State or nation, through the press or otherwise, in public or in a foreign country, or in the presence of representatives of foreign countries or of any foreign organization or its representatives, or who in such circumstances makes use of any expression which is offensive to national feeling, is guilty of a misdemeanour punishable by 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of 100,000 crowns, unless such action is subject to a higher penalty.

§ 16

The competent courts shall be the judicial authorities or first instance in towns where there are courts of appeal, and in Budapest the criminal courts of first instance. Judgment may also be given by default.

§ 17

The Ministry is empowered to order summary procedure to be employed in cases covered by the present Act. It is also empowered to order that in cases covered by §§ 1 to 3 of the present Act, the emergency¹ procedure and the death penalty be established, if such crimes become so frequent as to render it necessary to make examples in order to check crime which may threaten existing law and order.

(Signed) Dr. P. G. TOMCSÁNYI,
Minister of Justice.

¹ "Statarial" or emergency procedure adopted when a state of siege (*statarium*) has been declared.

SPEECH BY THE REGENT AT HODMEZÖVÁSÁRHELY

My principal object in visiting this district was to come into contact with the population and to become acquainted with its needs. There have long been numerous revolutionary elements in this district. We have now overcome this evil and can devote ourselves entirely to the work of reconstruction. Everyone has now had his eyes opened and everyone sees whither these pernicious doctrines lead.

Doctrines which are not applicable to beings as they are have no foundation. I have taken a great deal of interest in Socialist ideals, and I have found many admirable things in them. Indeed, there may be idealists who find an ideal in Communism: but this doctrine can never be realized, for only a demi-god can live up to it. Even in families we observe quarrels between brothers when wordly goods are in question. Ideals of the kind to which I refer have only resulted in giving power to those who spread them.

What has happened in this country can never happen again. We were deprived of our arms by all manner of tricks, and then followed a period on which we must always look with shame—the period which followed the Revolution. We received none of the things which we had been promised, neither liberty, wealth, bread, nor peace. Communism benefited the country in only one way. It gave us the opportunity of seeing behind the scenes of Socialism and of the agitation of extremist demagogues, and we saw how demagogic agitation could ruin a strong and prosperous country.

I recognize no difference between one Hungarian and another any more than between one Christian and another.

Everyone who is strong and healthy must answer the call to the colours with enthusiasm when need arises. We must be ready at any moment. I must have a perfectly disciplined people behind me.

SPEECH BY THE REGENT AT SZENTES

After the ever shameful period which resulted in destruction, and destruction only, throughout the country, the work of reconstruction has been begun. It is hardly a year since we began to organize the national army and already this army exists and is the hope and pride of the nation. We have a long and difficult stretch of road behind us. We have already made great strides towards our aim. The country is regaining its prosperity and once more the name Hungarian means "honour and power."

I ask each one of you to follow me and to be ready to make any sacrifice. As to those who take the wrong road, they must be crushed... I thank you with all my heart for the cordial welcome I have received here. I did not come to Szentes merely to be entertained, but to take a good look at the people here, some of whom, at least, committed the greatest excesses; I refer to the audience standing in front of me, who have certainly learned to understand the consequences of the ever shameful period which we have just passed through. You have learnt that no one can feed himself on bank-notes, that you cannot live on paper, and that, even if you have millions in your pocket, you may die of hunger, if you destroy instead of construct. Those who stand on one side and still hope that time may return, would do well to abandon such a hope, for they will not succeed in disarming us. Every person who still sighs for that time must perish. I wanted to say this quite clearly once for all to those whom it concerns.

The time for experiments is past. We must support our national army with body and soul. It would be the end of our country if its sons, who are strong and healthy, failed to answer the call to the colours with enthusiasm. If we were to have a good harvest and our neighbours a bad one, it is quite certain that they would come and take our harvest from us, if we were not ready for them. The only means of preventing them is, not Béla Kún, but simply our national army.

The period we have just passed through perverted everything in the country, even its own watchword. It changed the watchword "Liberty, equality, fraternity" into "Equality". Of course, we are all equals before the law; but there are no two things in the world really equal, let alone two men. There will always be people who work and people who idle. There will always be wise people and stupid people. The government of the country was put in the hands of people who had been in prison, because they were thieves and capable of anything. That is madness and is sure to lead to a catastrophe.

We must choose the best, the most intelligent, the wisest, the most devoted among us to place at the head of this nation, which has finer qualities than any other in the world. Then we shall have achieved our aim and can take our place among the finest nations of the world.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MASONIC LODGES IN HUNGARY

Abstract of the Reasons for the Decision

After the fall of the Reds the new Hungarian Government was faced with two difficult questions. The first need was for a breath of the fresh air of nationality and patriotism to purify the atmosphere which was poisoned by internationalism. To achieve this, it had to organize a system of propaganda, aiming not only at enlightening the public, but also at serving the cause of the restoration of the ideal of the Hungarian State. Fortunately, the latter task was easy, for the great majority of the Magyar nation has been infected only to a very small extent, or not all, with the poison of internationalism, or rather of Bolshevism. The more difficult task was to discover those among the nation who were carrying on agitation and intrigue, to prove their activity against the State, and to hand them over to their lawful judges. It was not merely a question of ordinary crimes. It is comparatively easy to lay hands on an assassin or a criminal and to bring him to justice, but

careful and detailed argument was necessary to prove intrigue, high treason, and the international preparation and fomentation of revolution. There were of course, also other obstacles to overcome, in particular the legend of the White Terror, which had been spread throughout the world by our “nobles émigrés”, Béla Kún and Co. It will be easily understood that, whenever the Hungarian authorities tracked down one of their accomplices, the former People’s Commissaries at once cried murder. We know that they obtained a favourable hearing in some countries. It was therefore necessary to act with great tact and circumspection. An almost superhuman effort alone could make it possible to give absolute proof of the complicity of certain bodies, associations, and unions. Here again great prudence was necessary. It was especially necessary not to throw the slightest suspicion on certain corporate bodies, some of whose members were accused of more or less grave offences, but which were themselves above reproach. Thus the Government had first to make absolutely certain what corporate bodies were to be accused. It was some time before certain proofs were obtained that the masonic lodges had started the Revolution of October 31, 1918, and had been responsible for its logical conclusion — the dictatorship of the proletariat. The overt acts of the masonic brotherhood during the last ten years have been nothing but one long hypocrisy. Their real nature was only seen in their lodges. In these childishly mysterious and enigmatic surroundings they lost their timidity and expressed their anti-religious views with the most complete effrontery. They slandered their country and denied morality, education, and everything which gives life its ethical value. To prove that this is not a mere empty and prejudiced accusation we will mention two facts. On December 18, 1918, a “beloved brother” spoke on the subject : “What should be the aim of human happiness.” “Cosmopolitanism, atheism, and Communism,” shouted the orator in conclusion, amid hearty applause. A provincial lodge went still further. At an initiation held

on November 30, 1918, it was boasted that the masonic lodges in Hungary had always done their duty by trying to remain continually in contact with foreign lodges. They had given them information in the past and were still doing so. This is nothing more nor less than a confession that "in the past", i.e. during the war, they carried on espionage. When the Government decided to dissolve the masonic lodges, it realized the importance of its action. It realized the fact that it could not destroy freemasonry throughout the world. That was not, and is not, its aim. It merely wished to show the people, who it was who were guilty of such disgraceful actions. We will mention no names but those of the already notorious Joseph Pogány, Kunfi, Péter Agoston, Paul Kéri (who was accused of the assassination of Count Tisza), Diener-Dénes, etc., who were chiefly responsible for the Hungarian catastrophe.

BILL CONCERNING THE MORE EFFICIENT PROTECTION
OF PROPERTY, MORALITY, AND PERSONAL SAFETY

Corporal punishment

Corporal punishment may be administered only in the following cases :

Assault on private persons, as specified in Article V of the Act of 1878 (Penal Code), §§ 175 and 176.

Perjury.

Offences against decency, as specified in §§ 223-237, 245, and 247 of the Penal Code, and §§ 44 and 45 of Article XXXVI of the Act of 1908.

Attempted murder as specified in §§ 278, 279, and 280 of the Penal Code.

Violation of personal liberty by private persons.

Violations of the inviolability of domicile by private persons, as specified in §§ 330 and 331 of the Penal Code.

Theft constituting misdemeanour or crime.

Looting.

Misdemeanour or crime of blackmail, embezzlement, or fraud.

Complicity as specified in § 376 of the Penal Code.

Forgery of official or private documents as specified in § 392 of the Penal Code.

Arson.

Misdemeanour or crime of profiteering.

Corporal punishment shall be administered on the decision of the judge; it may be imposed in lieu of a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years.

The number of strokes may be fixed by the decision of the judge at between 10 and 25, or in the case of minors at between 5 and 25. If the delinquent's state of health does not permit of corporal punishment, the latter is commuted to imprisonment, one stroke being equivalent to 1-30 days' imprisonment. The exact number of days to which a stroke is equivalent is fixed by sentence.

Corporal punishment shall be administered in the prison, in the presence of a magistrate, a representative of the Public Prosecutor, and a doctor. The public shall not be admitted. Corporal punishment may not be administered to women.

§ 7

Corporal punishment may also be administered as a disciplinary measure in prisons.

§ 8

This Act shall come into force on the day of its promulgation. It shall remain in force for one year.

The advantages of corporal punishment, says the Preamble, must not be lost sight of. If it is used as a principal penalty, it forms a substitute for imprisonment, and thus prevents any further aggravation of the present overcrowded state of the prisons (page 5, lines 22-25).



PART II

THE INQUIRY

CHAPTER I

Information received from the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions

We have seen what was the legal position in Hungary as regards the right of assembly and association and the right to strike. To recapitulate, the only associations which can legally exist are those which were in existence before the October Revolution. By the Act of 1912, prolonged by the Act of 1920, Hungary is under a kind of martial law, not to come to an end until a year after the ratification of the Peace Treaty.

It may also be recalled that a Decree concerning the right of assembly was issued on the basis of the Act of 1912:

MR. TOMCSÁNYI, head of the Public Safety department of the Ministry of the Interior, described the administrative procedure for carrying out this Decree as follows :—

When a trade union wishes to hold a meeting, it sends a letter containing the agenda to the superintendent of police, at Budapest, or to the *Főszolgabíró*¹ in the provinces. The latter note the communication and make no observations if the agenda contains nothing illegal or dangerous to public order. They have the right to be present at meetings and have power to dissolve them if any disorder occurs. The latter provision was made in the interests of the unions themselves; for, at local meetings, action has often been taken on the initiative of an individual without the knowledge of the leaders of the unions themselves. Now that the superintendent of police is present, this cannot occur. If the superintendent of police refuses to

¹ The *Főszolgabíró* is the chief magistrate of the district. He is subordinate to the Minister of the Interior, but is elected in a *comitat*.

allow a meeting to be held in Budapest, an appeal can be made to me¹.

What, however, actually happens?

The unions affiliated to the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions complain of numerous restrictions on trade union liberties. We will proceed to state these complaints. We must add that they assert that the trade union movement suffers far more restriction in the provinces than in Budapest itself. This statement is made in a petition addressed to the Ministry of the Interior on January 9, 1920 :—

The Socialist and Democratic Trade Unions of Hungary venture to address the following petition to your Excellency : In many provincial towns, the authorities, without any instructions from the higher authorities, have suspended local branches of trade unions, confiscated funds and books, and in the majority of cases requisitioned the premises of the unions. Thus, as we have been informed, all the local groups have been dissolved. The metal workers complain that the branches in Ozd and other communes have been suspended without cause. As the rights of assembly and association are natural to every man, and as all States except Hungary allow these rights to every citizen and every workman, we request Your Excellency to exert your authority to prevent an exception being made in the case of our workmen, even when they are Social Democrats, and to allow them to enjoy the same rights as other citizens. We also request Your Excellency to take measures to allow the Railwaymen's Union, the Electrical Workers' Union, and the others to resume their activity, especially as no irregularity has been discovered during the inquiry which would justify the suspension of these unions and their local branches. We wish to state in addition that when the political negotiations were begun between...² and the President of the Council, Karl Huszár, the latter promised to grant the right of association. We request you to take this fact into consideration, especially as the trade unions,

¹ This refers only to private meetings. Public meetings are forbidden.

² Name not known.

which are founded on a Social Democratic basis, are, in Hungary as elsewhere, necessary social institutions, which carry on work for the good of civilization and humanity.

Apparently no reply was made to the Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions. We shall consider later the case of the trade unions which were suspended or dissolved, and the special system which was applied to the mines. We now proceed to consider in succession the complaints and claims of the various industrial federations affiliated to the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions.

METAL WORKERS

We have no special complaint, say the metalworkers, about what happens at Budapest, but in the provinces there are continual difficulties, and trade union work is almost at a standstill. At the Ganz Works at Budapest on the 21st inst. (August) two persons appeared at the entrance of the factory and asked for admission. Two of our shop stewards asked them what they wanted, as they were not working in the factory. After a great deal of discussion, they admitted that they were sent by the Christian Socialists and had come to carry on propaganda in the factory. Our shop stewards then refused them admission. The next day five of our shop stewards were arrested, kept in prison a whole day, and only released when the workmen threatened the employers with a strike if they were not set a liberty.

At Erzsébetfalva, near Budapest, last week, two officers entered the premises of our local branch and stated that in a fortnight they would be requisitioned for use as barracks. In one case in the provinces the cash belonging to one of our branches was seized and given to the Christian Socialists. We have proofs of this, and will produce them.

The Federation of Metal Workers addressed the following letter to the President of the Council concerning incidents alleged to have occurred at Ozd:—

Letter from the Federation of Metal Workers

To His Excellency,

Count Paul Teleki,

President of the Council
of Royal Hungarian Ministers.

Your Excellency,

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Central Federation of Hungarian Metal Workers, we have to inform you of an offence so great that, amongst those which have been committed by various provincial authorities against our Association or its members, it is almost without parallel.

The Ozd branch of our Union came into existence on April 11. We obtained official permission to hold our conference, at which the civil and military authorities were represented. The Ozd branch is a purely industrial branch; nevertheless the authorities make the most absurd attempts to accuse the executive committee of the branch of political activity. The Ozd police arrested the members of our branch committee, ill-treated them in a disgraceful manner, and imprisoned four of them at Miskolcz. They were set free by the Public Prosecutor, on the intervention of our legal representative; the former stated that in his opinion these men were not guilty, and he had only arrested them because pressure had been brought to bear upon him.

When the men who had been arrested returned to Ozd, they were once more arrested and taken to prison, where they still remain. A different Public Prosecutor is responsible for this case, and he will not give the defence any information. The premises of the Ozd branch have been seized by the head magistrate of the district. We

appealed against this in Court at Sajoszentpéter, which reversed the decision of the head magistrate and stated that the measures taken by the latter were entirely irregular. The threats of the Ozd police prevent a delegate of our central office from going to Ozd to look into the case, and what is still worse, they absolutely forbid our branch to carry on its work. This is contrary to all law and justice. They do not allow our members to join the branch; the Ozd police have confiscated our official gazette, which was sent to the branch, and do not allow it to be distributed to the members. The head magistrate of the district of Ozd has forbidden the meeting of our branch at Borsoduadasl, on the ostensible reason that the members do not desire such a meeting, although 187 members of the branch have signed a declaration of adherence to the branch.

The executive committee of our union has been doing everything in its power to defend the interests of our members and their personal safety, but unfortunately so far without result.

We request Your Excellency to be so good as to have an inquiry made into our complaints, so as to establish the truth. We do not wish to defend anyone who has been guilty, but we are bound to lodge a protest; if one or two persons have been guilty, the majority of our members are being made to suffer for them, and in consequence we are unable to fulfil our duties to them as laid down by law.

We request your Excellency to treat this matter as one of urgency.

Yours etc.,

(Signed)

Budapest, August 7, 1920.

The following document was communicated to us by the Federation in connection with a request for permission to hold a meeting at Cegléd.

Office of Police Superintendent of Cegléd.

No. Z. 3106 R. K. 1920.

Subject : Request by the Central Federation of Hungarian Metal Workers for permission to hold a meeting proposed by the local branch at Cegléd, on August 8.

Ruling : I am unable to consider the request of the Central Federation of Hungarian Metal Workers for a meeting of their local branch at Cegléd, to be held on August 8, at 11 a.m. at the Inn of Molnár and I forbid this meeting.

Reasons : The Central Federation of Hungarian Metal Workers has a national constitution which has been approved by the authorities. This, however, gives no indication as to the local constitutions.

An appeal may be made against this decision within a fortnight.

Cegléd. August 4, 1920.

At Nagybatony, it is also stated, where there is a large metal works, the members of the trade union asked for permission to meet. This was given by the *Főszolgabíró* ; after some days he announced that he was obliged to withdraw his permission, because the officers objected to the meeting.

COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES

Although as regards the tendency of its members, say the Commercial Employees, our trade union is one of the most moderate, we cannot hold any meetings, even for the least important business, such as changing our concierge, without the presence of a police inspector, two armed policemen, and two detectives.

In September, 1919, the Christian Socialists invaded our premises, removed our records, furniture, etc. As we had

kept completely within our legal rights, we brought a law-suit, which we won; this, however, took a long time, and we only recovered part of our property and hardly any of our records.

As regards our provincial branches, they are unable to carry on any activities at all, and, in order to avoid incidents, we have advised them to keep as quiet as possible. About 150 of our members are interned.

FEDERATION OF BUILDING TRADE WORKERS

We received the following memorandum from the Federation of Building Trade Workers.

Many of our branches, particularly in Trans-Danubia, are unable to carry on their work, partly on account of open terrorism, and partly for fear of arrest, which still frequently occurs. Those of our branches which are working have to do so in secret. The members are given their trade union membership cards secretly in the street. It is impossible to give documentary proof of all this. The branch keeps accounts; but the fact that it has no list of members and no administrative records, proves that it is acting secretly, because it has no freedom of assembly or of association. It would take too long to draw up a list of the offences which have been committed against all our branches. We give, however, as examples, a few of the numerous crimes which have been committed :

At Böhönye (*comitat* of Somogy) the library of our local branch was destroyed.

At Dunaadony (*comitat* of Fejer) the village authorities confiscated the property of the branch. The confiscated property was as follows : A savings bank book for 1043 crowns and cash to the amount of 243 crowns, for which Joseph Pajor, the village judge, gave a receipt, No. 1852/1919.

Our local branch at Eßtergom cannot carry on its work on account of terrorism, and the Central Office cannot send a representative, as, if it did so, he would be arrested.

At Hőgyesz (*comitat* of Tolna) the premises of the branch have been closed by the local authorities, and the branch is still unable to carry on any work.

The entire funds of our branch at Nagykörös have been confiscated by the local authorities, and, as the branch was therefore unable to pay its rent, it has also lost its furniture.

The work of our local branch at Nagyoroszi was suspended by the head magistrate of the district of Rétság. The trade union building was requisitioned at a rent of 1400 crowns per annum for the use of the police, and our agent was expelled. The only reason for the suspension of the branch was the desire to find an opportunity of obtaining possession of our premises.

The members of our local group at Pápa are placed under the most severe restrictions. They have been expelled from their own trade union building, the furniture has been removed, etc.

Our local branch at Szigetujfalu was suspended by the authorities of the commune, on a verbal order of the magistrate of Ráckeve. Its property, consisting of 191,514 crowns in cash and a savings bank book for 81,250 crowns was seized, as well as the books of the union.

At Salgótarján the authorities do not allow the branch to carry on its work. The magistrate has stated that if the management of the Mines and the Coal Commission allow it to work, he will also give his permission.

The work of our local branch at Tolna is suspended. We have a house there on which there is a mortgage. The trade union offices have been established in this house. On September 7, 1919, the head notary came accompanied by some officers and several soldiers. They closed the house, with the exception of the agent's room, and removed the electric bell. On September 15, 1919, the head notary came again, accompanied by officers and soldiers, and ordered the Guard of the Commune to remove the library of the

branch, all the books and papers necessary for administrative purposes, the membership cards and a number of the Association's stamps. They requisitioned for the army 14 litre bottles, one half-litre bottle, one measure of 2 decilitres, and 2 measures of 1 decilitre, all the glasses, two oil lamps, and one water-can. They destroyed the articles of association and regulations of the Choral Society which were framed and hung on the wall. On September 17, 1919, the head notary seized the cash belonging to the branch, namely 82 200-crown notes, with serial numbers over 2000, 47 25-crown notes, with serial numbers over 3000, 542 crowns in silver, a savings bank book for 653.82 crowns, and another for 3300 crowns. The treasury of the commune gave a receipt.

On October 18, 1919, the soldiers requisitioned six chairs.

For some time the trade union offices were occupied by the police and the citizens' guard. It now contains the officers' canteen. We cannot discover what has since been destroyed, for members of the branch are not admitted. All this has been done, partly by the head notary of the commune in person and partly with his consent.

At Törökbálint (*comitat* of Pest) our local branch was dissolved by the magistrate, who gave no reason for his action.

Our local branch at Veszprém was dissolved by the *Karhatalom*, and holds no meetings. A *military detachment* (*Karhatalom*) has seized and removed all its books, including a Savings Bank book for 3111.23 crowns and another for 688.77 crowns.

At Zalaegerszeg the Catholic Union of Apprentices expropriated all the furniture belonging to the local branch, and 700 crowns. Protests to the authorities have not resulted in the restoration of the property.

Our local branch at Zircz was dissolved by the authorities without any reason given.

In the capital, workers in the building trades are terrorized in order to induce them to work more than 8 hours

per day, especially on Government work. In this case the workers tried for some time to resist by striking, but without success. At present five large State or municipal buildings are under construction. 200 masons with 300 helpers are working on these buildings. The working day is 9½ hours. Not much private building is being carried on. All that is being done is the restoration of frontages, which is done by means of ladders and cradles. 300 masons are engaged in this work; the working day is 8 hours. Employment is found for our members by the Union.

Carpenters.

There are 31 joiners' shops.

In 24 of these 200 carpenters work 8 hours per day

»	4	»	»	66	»	»	9	»	»	»
»	3	»	»	34	»	»	10	»	»	»

In the last-mentioned workshops the men are on strike for an 8-hour day.

Stone cutters.

At Budapest there are 97 stone cutters working in 24 workshops.

In 2 of these 6 stone cutters work 9 hours per day

»	22	»	»	91	»	»	8	»	»	»
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Cement workers.

60 cement workers at Budapest are working an 8-hour day. In the cement manufacturing works, however, short time is being worked owing to unemployment.

There is no employment in the provinces. Workers in the building trade are at present working on work other than their own.

WOOD WORKERS

It is between the Danube and the Tisza, state the wood-workers, i. e. in the district where our members are most

numerous, that our position is most difficult. At Debreczen the Hungarian troops, entering after the Roumanians had left, scattered the books of our library and threw them into the street. The authorities have demanded a complete list of our members with their addresses, so that they may be able to keep watch on them more easily.

At Gyöngyös the M.O.V.E. (the Hungarian initials of the Society for the Defence of the Magyar Land) occupied our premises, and we have been unable to find any others.

At Kécskemét, Cegléd, and Nagykörös we were also asked for the names and addresses of our members.

2500 wood workers have been arrested and interned. Only 1000 have been released. We have spent 130,000 crowns on the expenses of trials and 50,000 crowns in relief for their families. In Budapest alone there are still 500 families in receipt of relief from our union on account of the internment of the head of their family.

PRINTERS

Six of our provincial branches, state the printers, are at present suspended, not by any official decision, but by arbitrary action on the part of the local authorities.

BOOTMAKERS

During May, state the bootmakers, the military entered our premises and removed a portrait of Marx and all our newspapers. They left us, however, in possession of the premises and did not seize the funds of the association.

Like other trade unions we find it more difficult to carry on our work in the provinces. Three of our local branches have been suspended, and we have been asked for a complete list of the members. At Zalaegerszeg 20 persons were interned, a list of whose names is attached. Among others there is a certain István Illés who has been interned for a

year and has not yet been released, though he has never been examined by a magistrate.

The following is a declaration of the Vizegespan of the *comitat* of Zala forbidding the branch of the trade union to carry on its work.

*Decision of the Authorities concerning a Request of the
Bootmakers for permission to hold a Meeting.*

From the Vizegespan of the *comitat* of Zala, Petition No. 700/920.

Subject: Request from male and female workers in the boot trade in Keszthely in connection with the activity of their local branches.

Ruling: I am unable to consider this request, as the legal formalities for founding the branch, required by Order No. 122,000/906, have not been observed.

In particular the following points have not been proved:

1. Was the branch founded in accordance with the constitution of the parent union as approved by the authorities?

2. Have members to the number required by the constitution already definitely adhered to the local branch?

3. Do these members belong to the trade mentioned in these regulations?

4. Are they Hungarian citizens?

5. Have the members not been forcibly enrolled?

Finally, have the necessary police documents been produced concerning the conduct of the members of the branch under the Soviet régime?

Appeal may be made against this decision within a fortnight.

I am communicating this decision to the *Főszolgabíró* of the district of Keszthely for the necessary legal formalities.

Zalaegerszeg, March 30, 1920.

CHAPTER II

Suspension and Dissolution of Trade Unions

As a certain number of trade unions had been suspended or dissolved, we asked the Ministry of the Interior to state the reason for such action. We also asked the organizations which had been suspended or dissolved for their opinion on the reasons adduced by the authorities in support of these measures.

UNION OF STATE EMPLOYEES

Statement by the Government ¹

It is common knowledge that since the Károlyi Revolution the Union of State Employees has undertaken to represent the whole body of State officials and employees, and more especially that under the so-called Soviet Government it used unlawful means and even terrorism in order to force officials to enter its ranks.

Under the so-called Soviet Government the Union ran counter, not only to its own aims, but also to national ideals, and largely contributed to the relaxation of discipline and order, which had previously been exemplary among Hungarian officials.

The accusation has also been made that the money obtained from subscriptions was not used in accordance with the constitution, and even that Treasury funds have been used for the purposes of the association.

Partly on account of the above-mentioned reasons, and partly because the constitution of the association had not been approved by the Government authorities, the Royal Hungarian Minister of the Interior suspended the activity of the Union by his Decree 12421/1920 B.M. of March 10, 1920, and ordered an inquiry and the confiscation of the property, books, and records of the association.

The inquiry is proceeding.

¹ The reply of the Government was contained in the memorandum from the Ministry of the Interior mentioned above. We extract *in extenso* those parts which concern each category mentioned.

Statement by the Organization

We were unable to meet the representatives of the Union of State Employees, but on the day we left we received a request addressed to the Mission of the International Labour Office. The text follows.

REQUEST OF THE STATE EMPLOYEES ADDRESSED TO THE MISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

Budapest.

Sirs,

We have the honour to inform you that the present position of public employees in Hungary is as follows:

At the beginning of the "White Régime" the Union of Hungarian State Employees was dissolved, its records and documents seized, its funds, amounting to about 600,000 crowns, confiscated; part of the committee was arrested, part was obliged to flee, and the members were dispersed.

The persecution of members began simultaneously. An unconstitutional Decree was published, by the terms of which every official had to submit to an inquiry for the clearing of his character. In the course of the inquiry investigation was made into the actions of the official during the Communist period and particularly as to the part he had played in the organization of our Union. We need hardly say that all Socialists, Republicans, Liberals, and Radicals were handed over to a Disciplinary Commission, as having failed to clear themselves. This Commission consisted entirely of the most extreme reactionaries and clericals and persons who always support the Government which happens to be in power.

The Disciplinary Commission suspended the above-mentioned officials from the exercise of their duties, retained their salaries, and subjected them to a secret trial. The evidence was not made public and no defence was accepted. In 90 per cent. of the cases the trial resulted in dismissal and in the remaining 10 per cent. in some other disciplinary penalty. Thousands of officials thus lost their positions and the means of earning their living. In spite

of their innocence they and their families are condemned to starvation. There is no appeal against the sentence of the Disciplinary Commission. There is no appeal to any independent tribunal, and this also is contrary to the constitution.

We wish to urge the International Labour Office to bring about:—

1. The restoration of the right of association. In principle the Government does not forbid the organization of State employees. This is proved by the fact that the clerical and reactionary officials have an association at present, called the Christian and National Association of State Employees.

2. The release of all persons accused of political crimes.

3. The revision of all the unjust sentences passed by the Disciplinary Commissions.

4. The restitution to the Union of the documents and funds confiscated by the Government.

It is most urgent that these requests should be granted, not merely on account of the Peace Treaty, but also from a humanitarian point of view; for the number of officials who with their families have suffered punishment for no reason at all is 30,000.

We wish to add that the unions of municipal employees, postal employees, railwaymen, and teachers, have been treated in the same way as our Union, which organized the employees of the various Ministries and State departments.

Budapest, September 5, 1920.

On behalf of the Committee

Signature illegible.

GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
AND SMALL PROPRIETORS

Government Statement

The constitution of the Association was approved by the Minister of the Interior in December 1905, under reference No. 116236/205 III/a.

In consequence of the accusation of Alexander CSIZMADIA¹ on March 15, 1920, the Minister of the Interior directed an inquiry (No. 15284/1920) to be made into the affairs of the Association, because, according to the accusation, unlawful persons, wrongfully using the name of the Association, convened a general meeting on January 18, 1920. and elected a new executive committee, which claims for itself the right to conduct the affairs and administer the property of the Association.

Upon inquiry the mayoral authorities of the seventh Ward report that the committee of the Association is constituted of individuals of a suspicious character, from a moral and political standpoint, that Dr. Ákos Fodor, the lawyer recently nominated by the Association, was a Chief of Section of the municipality during the Commune, that the constitution of the Association has been broken and that its property has been squandered; they therefore propose that the Association should be dissolved and that legal proceedings should be taken against the old committee (CSIZMADIA and his companions) for maladministration of the property of the Association. The mayor of Budapest upheld the findings of this report and transmitted it to the Minister of the Interior on June 26, under reference No. 62719/1920 XI; the affair is still *sub judice*.

An inquiry has, therefore, been opened against the Association, but its *independence has not been suspended*.

Statement of the Organization

Memorandum of the Federation of Agricultural Workers

The Central Organization of the National Federation of Hungarian Agricultural Workers was not subjected to any persecution at the hands of the Government and the civil authorities; but after the victory of the counter-revolution and during the Roumanian occupation, by order of the

¹ Deputy in the National Assembly.

Karhatalom, our office was seized and our office furniture (worth about 200,000 crowns), our papers and our library confiscated. We have repeatedly requested their return, but in vain.

The state of affairs was very different in the provincial branches. More than 1700 of our local branches were dissolved in 1919, in the districts between the Danube and the Tibise by the Roumanian army of occupation, in the districts on the other side of the Danube by the counter-revolutionary army. In some cases independent authorities, in others various military and police formations confiscated the branch funds; according to information so far received, receipts were given in 13 cases for the sums seized; the cash funds of these 13 local branches amounted to 75,564 crowns 43 fillérs. Certain branches were also dissolved by the administrative authorities; for instance, the chief magistrate of the district of Pétervásár by his Order No. 1958/1919 dissolved all branches of the Association throughout his district and confiscated their funds.

The leaders of practically every one of the dissolved local branches of our Federation are still interned. They are accused of Communism, though the number of agricultural workers who professed Communist beliefs must have been very small, even during the dictatorship. When those agricultural workers who are at liberty talk of re-opening their branches, they are at once threatened with internment. Békéscsaba is the only place where it has been possible to re-constitute the local branch which had been dissolved by the Roumanians. The branch was re-constituted on August 1. At Szeged our branch was protected from persecution, because the troops of the French army of occupation took up the defence of the unions.

By October 31, 1918, the Union numbered 15,000 members, and by March 21, 1919, 500,000. The latter number was maintained until the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat, when in a few weeks' time all branches except Szeged, Budapest, and Győr were dissolved. Since then a

few branches have succeeded in resuming their activities. The following are the branches in existence at present :

1.	Budapest, Branch 1 .	600	members
2.	Buda-Németvölgy . .	161	"
3.	Szeged	500	"
4.	Beled	25	"
5.	Békéscsaba	150	"
6.	Csepel	30	"
7.	Csongrád	160	"
8.	Győr	50	"
9.	Pusztafélvár	20	"
10.	Szarvas	50	"
11.	Szombathely	40	"

Total 1,786 members

When conditions have improved somewhat, about 500 of the dissolved branches will be re-constituted with a membership of about 250,000.

This Association made the following remarks to us by word of mouth :

As to the accusation lodged against our Union, we must point out that the person mentioned in the report, Mr. Csizmadia, Deputy of the National Assembly, is no longer a member of our unions ; he has been a member at various times, having resigned and rejoined more than once.

The executive committee of our Union was at Budapest, but the appeal committee was at Szeged. Mr. Csizmadia convened a general meeting at Budapest without convoking the Szeged committee. This meeting was null and void ; therefore the Szeged committee convened another general meeting, which was absolutely in order. As for Mr. Ákos Fodor, we have never had a member of that name ; there has obviously been some misunderstanding.

UNION OF RAILWAYMEN

Government Statement

The Association has not got a constitution approved by the Government authorities. After the fall of the so-called

Soviet Government, the Minister of Commerce directed an inquiry to be held as to the Association and suspended its activities.

The inquiry proved that the central executive committee and the appeal committee of the Association :

1. had by fraud and terrorism compelled railway workers to join the Association and had enrolled a whole body of railway workers as members without their consent and even against the wishes of the majority : in so doing they violated the constitution of the Association for the benefit of a political party, to wit, the Social Democratic Party :

2. had deprived the members of freedom of speech, opinion, and action, not tolerating contradiction ;

3. had caused laxity of discipline in the service and had undermined the authority of the heads of the service :

4. had arrogated to themselves the right to share in the management of the State and other railways, both in regard to the staff and in regard to wages and service conditions :

5. had managed the property of the Association in an irregular and unscrupulous manner in contravention of its constitution, either by squandering its funds or by employing them for political purposes ; there is good reason to suppose that part of the property of the Association has been fraudulently managed and embezzled ;

6. had violated the constitution of the Association by displaying political activity, and, inasmuch as the delegates' meeting unanimously declared on June 15, 1919, that "the general meeting is unwavering in its devotion to the dictatorship of the proletariat and is prepared to support it by all means in its power," they had evidently placed themselves at the disposal of the Commune and made themselves accomplices of those who destroyed the authority of the law and involved Hungary in ruin ;

7. had caused most of the minutes of their meetings to disappear after the fall of the so-called Soviet Government and in some cases had substituted false minutes.

The results of the inquiry and the actions of the Asso-

ciation prove indubitably that its object had not been to safeguard the moral and material interests of railway workers as laid down in its constitution, but to carry on activities which were quite unjustifiable from the point of view of the interests of the railwaymen ; therefore, inasmuch as the Association had been guilty of action which violated its own constitution and merited severe condemnation, and also of unpatriotic conduct, of Communist activities, and of numerous instances of irregularity and dishonesty in the management of the property of the Association, the Minister of the Interior dissolved the said Association on July 29, 1920 (Reference No. 36292/920/12).

The Decree of dissolution provides that all the property, real and personal, of the Association and of the local branches affiliated to it shall be used to defray the cost of the establishment and maintenance of an orphanage for the children of railwaymen to be founded at Budapest.

From a strictly legal point of view it was not even necessary to dissolve the Association, for the Hungarian law on the right of association and combination recognizes only associations whose constitutions have been approved by the Government authorities ; strictly speaking, therefore, the Government cannot dissolve any but such approved associations.

The dissolution in question and the ensuing liquidation were measures rendered necessary by the *de facto*, not the *de jure*, situation.

Statement made by the Organization

The organization in the first place submitted to us the following separate explanatory statement :

The reason why our constitution failed to receive the approval of the authorities is that, as soon as the new régime was established, our Association was dissolved before we had had time to submit it for approval. Our Union included 33 grades of workers grouped in 17 sections.

We had 130,000 members, of whom 60,000 were manual workers. We have never forcibly compelled any railway worker to join our Union. Indeed, our Union rejected a proposal, which was made under the Communist Government, advocating that members' subscriptions should be paid by a deduction from wages.

All our agents have been imprisoned, including 40 members of the executive committee, and sentences of various degrees of severity have been passed on several of them. We have now a free Association with about 1200 members; every effort is being made to destroy this Association. On August 31 the railway administration circulated among its staff the following Order, which prescribes that all workers who are members of the free Association shall be discharged.

Circular of the Railway Administration

I request all railway employees to see that the Presidential Order given below is applied with the utmost strictness.

“His Excellency, the Royal Hungarian Minister of Commerce, by his Decree No. 36292 of June 29, has ordered the dissolution of the National Association of Railwaymen, and has charged the Royal Hungarian Chief Inspector of Railways and Navigation with the execution of his Decree.”

In pursuance of the above Order the Royal Hungarian Chief Inspector of Railways and Navigation dissolved the above Association on August 21, in the presence of representatives of the authorities and railways concerned. In connection with the dissolution of the Association it may happen that malicious attempts will be made to unite a section of employees, particularly the manual workers, in “free association.” As these free associations are injurious and impede the working of the railways, which is a matter affecting the interests of the public and the State, I call the attention of the staff to the fact that His Excellency the Minister con-

siders that railway employees cannot be members of such associations; should anyone disregard this prohibition, his act will be deemed an act of insubordination punishable by dismissal under Act XVII of 1914 (Railway Regulations), Articles 33 and 34, and under Articles 45, 46, and 315 of the Service and Salaries Regulations.

The present Order should be circulated to all employees and should be read several times during apprenticeship.

Budapest, August 25, 1920.

(Signed) DIONYS NIERTY.

Acting Under-Secretary of State.

(Signed) LOVATT,

Chief Inspector.

Head of the Northern Railway workshops.

As for the accusations which were the pretext for the dissolution of the Union, we reply to them herewith, protesting at the same time against the fact that no member of the Union was interrogated during the inquiry; hereby those who conducted the inquiry deprived themselves of all possibility of checking the statements made to them.

The following memorandum was transmitted to us:

*Reply of the Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's
Alliance concerning the Dissolution of the Alliance*

The accusations against the Hungarian Railwaymen's Alliance, which were the pretext for its dissolution, are based entirely on the Report made by the commission nominated by its opponents; the Report could not be impartial inasmuch as no member of the Alliance was present at any time during the inquiry. Thus there was no possibility of verifying statements; no one could give any information or even make any observation on a single point; the Alliance was deprived of all means of self-defence.

The accusations formulated against the Alliance are :

1. The Alliance is alleged to have used 160,000 crowns for political purposes.

As the Alliance has belonged ever since its foundation to the Trade Union Council, it was obliged to pay the Union subscription, payable quarterly at the rate of 36 fillérs per member; reckoning the membership at 130,000, we get thus the greater part of the sum mentioned. To this must be added the sum of 50,000 crowns voted by the committee of the Alliance to defray the expenses of the elections to the National Assembly, which were to be held in April, 1919; that sum cannot be considered excessive or out of proportion to the resources of the Alliance, in view of its importance and the advantages which it may expect from participating in the election in this way.

2. The 9000 crowns of which an account has been made by the Secretary, Hevesi.

This sum was entered in the books of the Alliance by a mere accountant's mistake, because it belonged originally to the People's Commissariat of the Interior. Being a well-known railway leader, Hevesi was sent by the Minister of the Interior to places which were crowded with railwaymen and other public employees fleeing before the Roumanian occupation; he was instructed to send out (through the enemy's lines) an order for all to remain at their posts. The entry of this sum in the books of the Alliance can only be due to a clerical mistake, made by a cashier who was formerly an ordinary workman; but it is not a crime, for wrong entries are sometimes made even in the State accounts.

3. Careless administration, irregularities, failure to keep accounts, unconstitutional action, etc.

The Alliance was founded during a revolutionary epoch, when the great masses of the people joined organizations of whose aims they approved; at a time of so much disturbance it was impossible to make any preliminary test of the machinery of the Alliance before setting it in motion.

A year had not elapsed since the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Roumanian occupation, and the ensuing troubles: so it is absurd to raise such accusations against the Alliance, which was still in process of organization.

4. The Ministry in its accusations lays special emphasis on the events which occurred at the delegates' meeting of June 2, 1919.

In reply to these accusations the committee of the Alliance can cite minutes of the delegates' meeting which was held a fortnight later on July 8, 1919, in the hall of the old school; on that occasion, Eugène Landler, Commissioner for the Interior, at that time Commander in the army, arrived during a speech which was being made to support a resolution restraining the Alliance from any intervention in political matters, on the ground that its aims were to serve the interests of railwaymen as a simple industrial organization. This did not please Landler, who went away in bad humour; after which the delegates unanimously voted the above resolution. This fact will be found recorded in the *Hungarian Railwayman* for July, 1919. It is therefore false to say that the Alliance is an organization supporting Communism; and from a legal point of view it is absurd to dissolve the whole Alliance and confiscate its funds, amounting to about 1½ million crowns, because of the errors committed by certain individuals.

5. It is alleged that there are about 60,000 Christian Socialists among railwaymen. We have no means of checking this assertion, but decades of experience in the Socialist movement give us the right to advance the most categorical denial; for we have at least had opportunities of forming an estimate of the Christian Socialist strength. The results of the ballot for the committee of the Railway Consumers' Co-operative Society, which was held on August 29, show how little truth there is in this assertion. The opposition group, composed of Christian Socialists, Awakening Magyars, the National Union, and other Christian organizations, supported by the full weight of

official influence and by individuals sent by their chiefs from all parts of the country, obtained only 6762 votes as against 6682 obtained by the Social Democrats, who were terrorized and threatened with dismissal, internment, and suspension. If it is true that the number of Christian railwaymen is 60,000, why was it necessary to form a coalition opposition group for a consumers' co-operative meeting? And yet even with the support of all the powers that be, they could not get a majority of more than 80.

UNION OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS
AND WORKERS ON LOCAL RAILWAYS

Government Statement

This association has not got a constitution which has been approved by the Government authorities. The official inquiry established the following facts :

1. By introducing a system of shop stewards it has caused a relaxation of railway discipline, as established by the Railway Service Regulations (Act XVII of 1914), inasmuch as it has caused the Union to intervene between superiors and subordinates in all employment questions affecting the workers.

2. It has provoked several political strikes.

3. It has employed violent means to compel workers to join the Union : in some places the Union has declared that in future it will not tolerate among the employees any but members of the Union.

4. In its official journal it has carried on propaganda against the authority of the heads of the service, against the service regulations, against Christianity, religion, and the bourgeoisie.

5. It has failed to observe its own rules ; for example :

a) no general meeting has ever been held :

b) in spite of its rules and regulations the Union leaders were not electric tramway employees ;

- c) no regular accounts have been kept;
- d) the central authorities of the Union did not exercise sufficient control over the local branches.

The inquiry is at an end. Negotiations between the Minister of Commerce and the Minister of the Interior are in progress concerning the dissolution of the Union.

The aforesaid organization transmitted two documents to us ; the official minutes of the proceedings on which the Government decision referred to above was based, and, secondly, a letter from the Ministerial Commissioner which is a reply to these official minutes.

We reproduce these two documents below.

Local proceedings begun at Budapest on October 16, 1919, and the days following, terminating in December 1919, concerning the activities of the Union of Workers employed on Electric Railways.

The following persons were present :

For the Hungarian Ministry of Commerce and for the Hungarian General Inspectorate of Railways and of Navigation : Stephen Rohrmann, Chief Inspector of Railways and Navigation, Commissioner appointed to the Electrical Workers' Union during its suspension.

For the Amalgamated Railways of the City of Budapest : Dr. Ladislas Wirter.

For the National Union of Hungarian Electric and Narrow Gauge Railways : Eugène Weltner. Acting President.

Subject : Investigation. dated October 10, into the activities of the National Union of Workers employed on the Hungarian Electric and Narrow Gauge Railways, in pursuance of Order No. 73496/13 of His Excellency the Hungarian Minister of Commerce.

Method of procedure. — The Commissioner appointed to the Electrical Workers' organization laid before the persons taking part in the inquiry the aforesaid Ministerial Order, which stated the reason of the inquiry to be a request from the Committee of the Union that the Order suspending the Union be revoked, on the ground that the Union had displayed no political activity. The primary object of the inquiry was therefore to determine whether the Union had engaged in politics or not; at the same time an endeavour was made to give a summary of the activities of the Union, so that His Excellency the Minister might be enabled to decide whether the Order of suspension should be upheld or revoked. The inquiry was conducted along the lines indicated and its results may be summarized as follows:—

The genesis of the Union. — The Union was formed by amalgamating various unions of the different classes of workers employed on electric railways: the Industrial Workers' Union, the Transport Employees' Union, and the Office Employees' Union.

The principal object of the Union under examination was to unite transport and communication workers. The organization originated before the war, when the members formed a "free association" in connection with the paper *A Villamos*. In 1917, thanks to the labours of Arpad Szakaszi, Paul Dénes, and Eugène Weltner, it began to show signs of greater activity and to develop to a much greater extent. After an interval of some years, the paper *A Villamos* reappeared on June 5, 1917, and on October 20, 1917, on the occasion of a 15 minutes' protest strike, a constituent meeting was held in the old Chamber of Deputies (with the permission of the police), in the course of which the Union constitution was submitted for discussion and passed: the approval of the authorities was to be requested later, in accordance with statutory regulations. But this constitution has not yet been approved, and, according to a communication (No. 7216/1918) from the Hungarian Minister of

Commerce, the request for approval is still under examination. After the first Revolution under the Károlyi Government, "a popular law" granted the right to hold meetings without first obtaining permission from the authorities. Consequently, from January 1, 1919, the Union exercised its activities openly. During the comparatively brief existence of the Union, many events of importance have occurred: strikes, revolutions, amalgamation of the electric railways of the city of Budapest, socialization, dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. These events have in varying degrees influenced the working of the Union.

The minutes of meetings. The meetings of the central executive committee. — In addition to the minutes of the constituent meetings published in the paper *A Villamos*, the minutes of the meetings of the central committee were submitted to us, 7 documents for the year 1917, 11 for the year 1918, 10 for the year 1919.

It should be noted that no minutes were submitted to us for the period between August 9, 1918, and December 16, 1918, or for the period between March 1, 1919, and April 17, 1919; it is obvious, however, that conferences, sittings, and meetings must have been held during those intervals. The President, Mr. Eugène Weltner, stated that meetings of the committee were held between August 9, 1918, and December 28, 1918: but no minutes of these meetings were taken.

The most important facts to be extracted from the minutes are as follows:

At the meeting of December 10, 1917, *the committee declared its opposition to the strike of women conductors and characterized it as "individual action"*; it pointed out the necessity of an agreement with the Budapest Electric Railways. During this meeting it was reported that the

Public Prosecutor had reprimanded the paper *Villamos* because of the tone of its articles.

The Minutes of the meeting of January 28, 1918, refer to the strike which occurred a few days before, but the committee did not define its attitude.

At the meeting of February 19, 1918, it was reported that the Public Prosecutor had subjected the paper *A Villamos* to censorship.

At the meeting of March 27, 1918, the committee affirmed its opposition to the Christian Social Party.

At the meeting of April 12, 1918, the committee affirmed its opposition to the local foremen's association of Cinkota.

In regard to the agitation for the rise in wages, the members of the committee affirm "that it is necessary to be prepared to use methods which will lead to the desired result."

On March 1, 1919, the following members of the committee were nominated as delegates to the Council of Workers: Weltner, Stark, F. Horváth, Knafsky, Bede, and Orscat committee members. The following were nominated delegates to the Trade Union Council: Weltner, F. Horváth, Tomasics, Alex. Varga, Katona, G. Novak, and Stark.

According to the minutes of the meetings of May 23 and 25, 1919, the President, Eugène Weltner, *declared himself opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

According to the minutes of the meeting of June, 10, 1919, the committee decided to take Eugène Weltner into their permanent employ, he having ceased to be employed on the Budapest Electric Railways. His salary was fixed at 3000 crowns a month, and it was agreed that if the salary of a chief manager rose above that amount, his salary should be raised accordingly.

According to the minutes of the meeting of June 23, 1919, the Committee definitely declared its *opposition to entry into the Red army.*

Copies of some other statements which were reported in full in the various minutes are appended to this report.

The minutes of meetings of local branches. — We found a number of minutes of local branches, but we had no list of the meetings held, and it was impossible to ascertain at what meetings no minutes were made and what minutes were missing.

The facts enumerated below, which are taken from the minutes available, throw some light on the working of the local branches.

At the meeting of the Aréna on June 9, 1919, it was decided, in the presence of Joseph Schominger, that if the Committee of Complaints did not grant the requests contained in the Memorandum, *a strike would be declared*. In order to show their intention, those who were not at work went to see the Committee of Complaints. At the same meeting it was declared that those who did not belong to the organization or who had left it would not benefit by the increase in wages. At the meeting of Városliget on January 9, 1916, it was stated in the presence of George Tomasics that the shop stewards had decided to organize a protest demonstration, with the intention of declaring a general strike at a date still to be fixed, if signs of weakness were shown and if they did not win their case.

On January 9, 1918, at a meeting at Budafok at which Gust. Knafszky was chairman, it was reported that, if they were not satisfied with the decision, the central committee of shop stewards would declare a general strike.

At the meeting on January 16, held at the Aréna in the presence of Joseph Schominger, it was decided to send a memorandum proposing that non-trade unionists should not benefit by the increase in wages.

At the meeting on January 19, 1918, held at Budafok in the presence of John F. Balog, it was decided to compel Louis Pogardy to stop work, because he had not taken part in the strike in spite of the request of the stationmaster,

J. F. Balog. At the same time it was declared that non-trade unionists would not be tolerated among the workers.

At the meeting on January 23, 1918, held at the Aréna in the presence of Joseph Schominger, a discussion took place as to the recent strike whose objects were: 1) to hasten the conclusion of peace; 2) to obtain universal suffrage and the secret ballot; 3) to obtain an increase in the food rations.

On April 22, at the Budapest shops, in the presence of the following delegates from headquarters, Knafszky, A. Horváth, and Varga, the results of the 15 minutes' strike of April 20 were examined, and full information was given on this subject and also in regard to the three hours' strike of April 22. Solidarity with the whole of the working class was proclaimed on this occasion.

At the plenary meeting of the employees of Zugló on April 21, 1918, the President of the Union, Stephan F. Horváth, gave a detailed report of the three hours' strike of April 22. He explained the ideas of the Social Democratic Party and its programme of action. He proclaimed the future solidarity of international Socialism and contrasted it with the Jesuitical activities of the Christian Socialists. He emphasized the advantages of universal suffrage and appealed earnestly to all present to manifest a spirit of enthusiasm and solidarity.

At the meeting of June 21, 1918, at Budafok, Mr. G. Knafszky reviewed the events which occurred in the works on June 20 and caused cessation of work. After hearing his report, the meeting decided not to resume work until the existing Government had resigned, the right of meeting had been accorded, and the wages which were demanded granted.

At the meeting at Kispest on July 10, 1918, held under the chairmanship of G. Ozsvath, it was decided to take severe measures against strike-breakers and to excommunicate them. It was also agreed that, if negotiations did not begin at once, work should stop again.

On July 18, 1918, under the chairmanship of Stephen Sarkadi of Jen Kiss, delegate of the Socialist Party of Erzsébetfalva, it was decided that the members should continue to wear their badges to prove their courage and to show their numbers.

At the meeting of November 8, 1918, at Cinkota, the headquarters' delegate, Ozsvath, declared that, if necessary, persons who were not in harmony with the new era would be removed.

On November 7, 1918, at the meeting of Kobanya, under the chairmanship of John Adamek, it was decided to nominate the shop steward, Mr. Katona, as chief, and to refuse to accept any chief appointed from without. It was also agreed, on the proposal of V. Polecsky, that the former chief must vacate his lodging within a fortnight and it was resolved, on the proposal of John Adamek, that non-union workers should not be allowed in the shops.

At the meeting of Zugló on March 26, 1919, Stephen F. Horváth, President of the Alliance, said that a new régime was coming, which would undoubtedly benefit the proletariat and which should be accepted. He appealed for peace and concord, because every disturber of the peace was a counter-revolutionary and would be tried by the revolutionary tribunal. Such persons must not be allowed to exist.

At the meeting of the B..., held on March 27, 1919, under the chairmanship of John Schwarczkopf, Charles Bede announced the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the meeting declared that it would support the dictatorship of the proletariat with all its might. Belá Gabriel calculated the number of millions of the proletariat who were killed during the war in the interests of capitalists and of the bourgeoisie and affirmed the need for solidarity under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Alex. Bleier spoke of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and exhorted the people to work. B. Zabrausky proposed that numbers should cease to be worn on the caps.

At the signalmen's conference on March 27, 1919, S. Német explained the new situation and urged the comrades to *support the Government of new Hungary with all their might and at once to denounce anyone who was dissatisfied with this Government or agitated against it.*

At the Közvagohid terminus, under the chairmanship of Victor Markos, on March 26, 1919, comrade Gombkötő spoke on future conditions and pointed out that, if the workers struggle for this ideal and support it, railway revenues will be used for the future welfare of the workers and *not to enrich capitalist brigands.*

At the meeting of Zuglő on June 27, 1919, under the chairmanship of Joseph Bamjai, comrade Weltner reviewed the situation and appealed for solidarity on the ground that the workers have no other means of enforcing their will. It was often asserted, he regretted to say, that electricians were counter-revolutionaries : but he did not believe that this was true, except in a very few cases. Six comrades had been arrested on various charges, but it was impossible to intervene in their favour. As to the famine, they must not forget *that bourgeoisie and proletariat now suffered equally.* The dictatorship of the proletariat had existed for three months only and some comrades expected it to have realized all its aims : he *urged the comrades to maintain a resolute front.* (applause) Comrade F. Horváth reported that the organizations had been given a place on the Soldiers' Council, but unfortunately he saw that many were against the Government. He begged the comrades to *support the Government to the utmost and to struggle for their rights, which were not yet lost.*

At the same meeting, Vardai spoke against relaxation of discipline in the service, alleging that the accounts' table was always occupied by card-players.

At the meeting held on July 2 at S... under the chairmanship of Charles Egyed, Lad. Sajó spoke of home and foreign politics and gave a scientific account of Socialism.

228172

The commander of the Red Guards of the Varga district appealed for peace and order.

The archives of the Alliance. — We examined all the papers, books, notes, etc., which were found in the offices of the Alliance. On the occasion of this examination we found no documents concerning the affiliation of the Alliance to the Social Democratic Party or which proved or tended to prove the political activities of the Alliance.

We have enclosed with this Report a copy of each packet of the pamphlets published by the Social Democratic Party, which we found in the course of our search.

The management of the Alliance funds. — The books kept on the double-entry method of bookkeeping gave us details as to the management of the Alliance funds. Income and expenditure, as well as the state of the finances, can be seen from the extract from the ledger appended to this Report. As to details, it should be noted that since April 30, 1918, the Alliance paid into the *funds of the Social Democratic Party* 11,036 crowns 28 fillérs as a contribution to the Trade Union Council, and 8,100 crowns as a contribution to the Party, 2,750 of which were paid during the dictatorship of the proletariat. During July and August 1918, under the heading "expenses for the movement", it paid to strikers 21,718 crowns, 75 fillérs. Until October 31, 1917, the members' subscription was one crown; since January 1, 1918, two crowns per member per month. At headquarters there was no information regarding the management of the branch funds, with the exception of the Budapest local branches, whose funds were at headquarters.

In regard to the activities of the cashiers, it should be noted that they paid out sums only after many demands and that one of them, A. Varga, did not wish to give an account of the subscriptions received. He was accused before the supreme authority of the railwaymen and an action was brought against him. Those who did render

their accounts did so in Soviet securities only; an action was brought against the cashier J. Hutö before the Amalgamated Railways.

Observation of the constitution. — This part of the inquiry aimed at determining how far the constitution approved by the constituent meeting of October 20, 1917, has been observed, that is to say what part of this constitution has been violated by the executive or the members.

Following the order of the paragraphs of the constitution appended under “.....,” we ascertained :

1. According to G. of § 2, the Alliance desires to attain its objects “in co-operation with those national organizations, whose functions are similar, and with the help of national societies which are working for the defence of the occupational interests of industrial workers.” The Alliance, however, not only supported the Trade Union Council, but contributed regularly to the funds of the Social Democratic Party, that is to say, during the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the funds of the Communist Socialist Party.

2. According to § 4: “The funds of the Alliance and its branches cannot be utilized except for the objects and under the conditions laid down in its constitution and according to the instructions of a special meeting; the funds must be invested.” It should be noted that no delegates’ meeting was held and that consequently the Alliance constitution was violated, inasmuch as the manner in which the funds were to be utilized had not been prescribed. Further, the note made to G. § 2 of the constitution applies also to § 4.

3. According to D of § 5: “All persons employed on an electric or narrow gauge railway and who accept the existing constitution may be ordinary members of the Alliance.” Consequently, the constitution governs members independently of its formal confirmation from the moment of their entry into the Union.

4. According to A. of § 6: “Anyone whose subscription

is three months in arrear shall be struck off the list of members." There was no list of members; therefore no one had been struck off the list.

5. According to F. of §9: "The monthly subscription shall be one crown for the first class and two crowns for the second class. The special meeting shall be empowered by special decision to levy a monthly subscription of 50 fillérs for the relief funds; further, each branch may levy a special monthly subscription not exceeding 50 fillérs a month for special expenses, such as education, local expenses, etc." In spite of this provision, the monthly subscription since January 1, 1919, *without any resolution of a special meeting, has been raised to 17 crowns.*

6. According to the last section of § 9, the relief, which must be in conformity with the provisions of this paragraph, must be included in the "agenda" of the special meeting. No meeting has been held; relief has been organized by the executive.

7. According to § 11: "The Alliance is constituted of affiliated organizations representing the total number of individual members of the local branches and also of occupational sections of the local branches. Technical workers employed on the permanent way and in the running of narrow gauge electric railways may belong to the Alliance." It should be noted that the present President of the Union, Eugène Weltner, and two former Presidents, A. Szakasits and P. Dénes, *were not employees on electric railways.* Eugène Weltner was employed only from November 1, 1918 to June 15, 1919.

8. According to § 12: "The Alliance shall be conducted, in accordance with the principles of the constitution, by:

- a) the delegates' meeting;
- b) the central executive committee;
- c) the administrative committee;
- d) the committees of local organizations and representatives of supporting institutions."

It has been proved that no delegates' meeting has been held.

9. § 14 determines the powers of the delegates' meeting, whose function it is, *inter alia*, under E., to control the expenses of the executive committee and to fix *the method of expending funds for the purposes described in § 3*. Since no delegates' meeting was held, expenditure was controlled by the executive committee and payments were made by the President.

10. According to the first Section of § 15, the business of the Alliance shall be conducted "by the central executive committee". *But the constitution fails to prescribe how the central executive committee is to be elected or what is to be the duration of its mandate.*

11. According to the fifth Section of § 15, the minutes of meetings are to be prepared by the General Secretary, who, in conjunction with the President, conducts all the business of the central executive committee in accordance with its instruction. These provisions have not always been observed, as is proved by the statements contained in §§ 3 and 4 (Chapter 11 of the present Report of proceedings).

12. § 16 instructs the central executive committee to inspect from time to time, when it seems necessary, the administration of the local organizations. This inspection of the local organizations has never taken place.

13. Under Section 11 of § 18 the local organizations are bound to submit a monthly account of their income and expenditure to the central executive committee. When the financial administration of the Alliance was investigated, it was found that these regular reports had never been made.

14. According to 7 of § 19, two copies of the minutes of every meeting of the branches are to be made, one of which is to be filed by the branch and the other sent to the central executive committee. The receipt of such minutes was not verified, nor were they filed.

Official Gazette of the Union. — We were shown copies of the Official Gazette of the Union, which is called *A Vilamos*. We quote extracts of articles which exceeded the limits fixed by the constitution, and also others which spoke in favour of the maintenance of order and discipline.

1917

- No. 1 Inflammatory articles and a panegyric of the example set by Russia (3 pages).
- No. 2 Missing.
- No. 3 At the inauguration of their premises, D. Bokány,* in the name of the Social Democratic Party, made a speech expressing Socialist ideas and in favour of “adhesion”.
- No. 4 Unimportant.
- No. 5 Accuses Bódy of reaction and hostility to the workers. States that the management of the United Electric Railways of the town are nothing but thieves; they steal money gained by the work, the health, and the ... of the workers.
- No. 6 Unimportant.
- No. 7 Page 1: In our own country the capitalists and profiteers are brutally murdering the proletariat in millions.
- No. 8 Missing.
- No. 9 Agitation for free right of assembly. It asks members to be punctual in the discharge of their duties, and states that the work will be carried on by reliable men.
- No. 10 Call for a constituent meeting. The constitution.
- No. 11 Report of the general meeting; agitation against the regulations of the service, in favour of the right of assembly and of the *Népszava*¹, and against the Christian Socialists.
- No. 12 Unimportant.

¹ Organ of the Social Democratic Party.

- No. 13 In an article entitled "The Struggle for Peace," appear the words: "The outstretched hand of the Magyar proletariat has already touched the hand of Russia and has clasped it in friendship." Account of the meeting of the Social Democratic party of September 28, (at which the Electrical Workers' Union was represented) at which the resignation of the Government was demanded, and the most brutal methods suggested,
- No. 14 An article on the strike of the women drivers of the electric railways of the town states: "We must absolutely disavow all connection with bourgeois society. The workers have, and can have, no other choice." In an article entitled "At Christmas", occur the words: "Religion has lost its power. The power of the people is immeasurable. The profiteering priests of the Messiah of Bethlehem have duped humanity. New Messiahs have appeared and are already inaugurating a régime of peace and love for thousands of the poor."

1918

- No. 1 Glorification of the example set by Russia. Propaganda for class warfare. Propaganda for the *Népszava* and attacks on the detractors of the organization.. "Anyone who says anything good about the Pécs electric trams is either venal or stupid." Advertisement of Socialist pamphlets.
- No. 2 Regulations for the management of branches. Discussion of the strike of January 1918. "We have thus proved that the organized working classes of Hungary can always count on finding us faithful and well-disciplined allies in their struggle, who will shrink from no sacrifice where the interests of the workers are in question."

- No. 3 A leading article on the extraordinary general meeting of the Party. Several articles censored.
- No. 4 Leading article against ignorance: "Our great ultimate aim: Socialist organization of the working classes to obtain political power and to bring about a Socialist order of Society."
- No. 5 "The women's day". "We take this opportunity of renewing our profession of faith in the ideal of international solidarity."
- No. 6 Censored.

The Electric Spark.

- No. 1 Education and Socialism.
- No. 2 The Trade Unions as "brothers-in-arms."
- No. 3 Unimportant.
- No. 4 The shop steward as judge: "The first and most important duty of the shop steward is to win over to the organization every working man and woman employed at his place of work." "The shop steward should encourage members to bring their complaints to him and not to their superiors."
- No. 5 Agitation against Dr. Patz and Christen.
- No. 6
- No. 7

A Villamos.

- No. 7 "The political struggle."
- No. 8 A red headline: A Villamos.
- No. 9 "They shall starve." "The parasites have apparently decided that the workers shall die of starvation!"
Glorification of Karl Marx.
- No. 10 "Arbitrary and pernicious Service Regulations have handcuffed the employees." "The trickery of the vote." "The masses are still asking for what they want. Give it them now, for the masses are terrible when they cease to ask and take."

No. 13 Heavily censored.

No. 14

No. 15 "The 1st of November ushered in a new epoch."
"It is a consequence of Socialism that every citizen must be a soldier, and every soldier a citizen. We must organize our army; if every organized workman has arms in his hand, we are invincible." Statement that the State has taken over the electric railways. Explanation of the change. Creation of a great army of 600 men. An appeal to drivers who steal not to do so.

No. 16 "The Socialist State." It is necessary to crush and make impossible any counter-revolutionary movement.

No. 17 Agitation for a strike fund. "We must remove the men of the old régime from positions of importance."

No. 18 "The same aims and different methods". "We adhere unreservedly to the Communist system, and though the way is hard and difficult, we shall reach our goal." The paper, however, draws attention to the fact that there are no sudden transformations in nature and that we must not level down differences in cultivation, but level up. A moderate article.

1919

No. 2 Garami repeals the Ministerial Order of 1906 No. XII/4 104275, which forbids transport workers to be members of any Social Democratic organization.

No. 3 A very strong leading article against Communist shortcomings. A short article attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat and Lenin's system.

No. 4 Election, propaganda on behalf of the Social Democratic party. Leading article on "Raising of Wages." Attack on capitalism. Resolution of the Council of Ministers on "the 8-hour day" moved by Garami.

- No. 5 IV. 10. Leading article entitled "New Life" in praise of Communism. "The electrical workers will contribute their highest efforts in order to share in the founding of the Communist school." "All that the privileged classes possess up to this point, either entirely or in part, is what they have stolen from us."
- No. 6 V. 1. "The dictatorship of the proletariat is in danger!" This article contains the words: "All will be swamped in the muddy water of the hatred which the bourgeoisie and the White Guard bear to us, if we do not hold fast. This is why we say — join the Red Army!" "Our new system of Party workers." Article in praise of Lenin.
- No. 8 V. 27. "Proletarian policy," leading article addressed to the trade unions.
- No. 9 VI. 20. "The Party Congress". "Instead of a disorderly meeting with hissing and obstructive opposition, a meeting at which everyone quite rightly laughed, we have serious scientific discussions, where real arguments are brought forward. The calm and gravity of the meetings prove that the old aristocracy of birth and of the all-powerful plutocracy are replaced by the aristocracy of intellect, by work, and by honest endeavour."
- No. 10 "Counter-revolution." "We are not counter-revolutionaries, we have nothing in common with the actions of notorious 'Whites'; the accusation that they have dared to bring against us is stupid and dishonest; it will recoil on the slanderers who have brought it."
- No. 11 "The need for one united organization."

Responsible editors :

From June 5, 1917 : Árpád Szakasits.

From Nov. 1, 1918 : Paul Dénes.

From Jan. 1, 1919 : Eugène Weltner.

From July 1, 1919 : " " "

Positions occupied by the Leaders. — After the first Revolution, Paul Dénes and Eugène Weltner were appointed as the Ministerial representatives on the Town Railways. Party workers and local officials obtained greater influence in the railway service. It is clear from § 2 that the leaders sent delegates to the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

When the dictatorship of the proletariat had been set up, Eugène Weltner became a member of the Board of directors of the Town Electric Railways. He ceased to occupy this position, however, on June 15. The Electrical Workers' Union was represented by H. Stark, D. Leugyel, and St. F. Horváth in the Workers' Council which controlled the United Electric Railways of the town. The Union was also represented in local councils to the extent of 148 persons.

It has not been possible to discover whether the leaders accepted political mandates.

Statement by the Organization

Letter from the Electric Railway Workers' Union.

To Mr. Stephen Rohrmann, Ministerial Commissioner, Budapest.

In accordance with your instructions, we have the honour to transmit to you the following observations on the Report of the Inquiry of October 18, 1919, and following days, and also concerning the National Union of Hungarian Electric and Narrow Gauge Railway Employees during the period of its suspension.

General Remarks. — We wish to state that our Union was set up simply and solely to provide a professional organization for the electric railway workers. The idea of starting the Union was not a suggestion from other quarters. It arose among the railway workers themselves, and has never been connected with any ideas of hostility to the power of the State, to the Government, or to the authorities of the capital. There was no idea that this Union should become *an organization with violent and revolu-*

tionary aims, dangerous to public order and threatening the efficiency of transport or the peace of society. On the contrary, the aim proposed by the most serious and thoughtful of the electric railway workers in setting up the Union was to restore the moral balance which employees had lost owing to the intolerable wretchedness of their economic conditions and the great privations which they had undergone, and to induce them *to use legal methods in carrying on industrial conflicts.* This attempt was happily successful. The distress caused by the war was relieved without the employees being compelled to have recourse to the strike weapon. It cannot be denied that if the Union had not been set up, the transport arrangements of the capital would have been subject to serious crises during the war, as the companies, especially the Kőszuti, brutally refused to grant any of the justifiable demands of the workers, who were suffering great distress. It was only with the greatest difficulty, and by immense efforts, that the leaders succeeded, in hundreds of meetings and conferences, in persuading the employees, in the interests of maintaining transport, to *sacrifice* some of their perfectly just demands so as not to injure national interests during the war.

The splendid efforts made by the Union did not, unfortunately, receive the necessary support; and, *though completely isolated, it defended not only the interests of the workers, but also those of transport.* Instead of acknowledging its authority, the companies treated it with hostility, in spite of the fact that its activity invariably remained within the limits laid down by the law. The Union had a constitution and observed that constitution, even at times when the conditions of public order were such that it *could have acted otherwise with complete impunity.* Because our leaders respected the law, our Union did not take advantage of this state of affairs, in spite of the fact that we have been waiting more than two years for the governmental approval of our constitution.

The energies of our Union were completely absorbed in

defending the material interests of the electric railway workers: this alone, even without any other reasons, *would have prevented it from taking part in politics*. The Union did not give its members political education, but inculcated the discipline of work and provided them with technical instruction. Political questions were never discussed at meetings of the Union, and the leaders always tried to dissuade the members from political action. It cannot be denied that the electric railway workers sometimes joined in political strikes. *These, however, were not started by the Union*: they were the result of the general state of *public opinion*, and from this the electric railway workers *could not dissociate themselves except at the risk of their lives*. We may refer to the general strike of January 1918, during which the workers at several stations *were wounded and had their vehicles destroyed* because they had not joined in at once. At a time when such violent passions were aroused, it could least of all be expected that the transport workers, whose work is more public than that of any other class, should try to oppose the will of the masses.

In proof of the statement that the Union was opposed to the strike and declared against it whenever it had the power and opportunity to do so, we may refer to the minutes of the meeting of December 10, 1917: from these it can be seen that the leaders not only repudiated the women drivers, but actually *disarmed* them by using the forces at their disposal.

It is the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, which most clearly shows how far the Union was from seditious tendencies. At that time, when any opposition to the will of those in power was *punished by death*, *the Union several times came to decisions which were opposed to the dictatorship* (May 22 and 25). The Minutes of the meetings of June 10 show how greatly the views of the leaders differed from those of the dictatorship. In conclusion, we may refer to the Minutes of June 23; these show that

the Union *publicly and categorically stated itself to be opposed to the enlistment of workers in the the Red Army*. In view of all this, we need merely point out that the Union cannot be made responsible for speeches which were made in some stations; for, as the facts we quoted above prove, the work of the leaders of the Union, even judged by the standards which prevail to-day, was entirely irreproachable. The speeches made in certain places must be attributed to the passions which had then been aroused. They may also have been uttered under compulsion, but in any case, they do not express the official standpoint of the Union.

After having made these general observations, we wish to lay our further observations before you and beg you to submit them to your impartial attention and judgment.

Foundation of the Union. — The facts stated in the Report are in the main accurate. The constituent meeting held on October 20, 1917, shows that the electric railway workers wished to make use of legal methods in the defence of their material interests. The quarter of an hour protest strike was intended to show that the workers were well disciplined and unanimous and to prove the general desire for a legitimate Union with a constitution.

Minutes of the Meetings. — The minutes of the meetings show that both leaders and members wished to defend their material interests and social progress without contravening the law and without diminishing production by obstructing transport.

The minutes of the meeting of December 10, 1917, clearly show that the leaders were opposed to any irresponsible individual action, which might endanger orderly transport, and that they wished to come to agreements with the companies. The leaders of the Union made no statement on the general strike of January 28, 1918. At the meeting of November 27, 1918, the leaders stated their opposition to the Christian Socialist Party. The Ministerial Com-

missioner makes special mention of this fact in the Report of the Inquiry. This statement, however, was not of a political nature, but was merely made to preserve unity of organization among the workers: this was the only way to preserve discipline and to protect the companies from the disastrous consequences of the disturbed conditions of the time. The Union was carrying out the same policy when it opposed the separate organization of foremen at Cinkota, although that organization in itself had no political colouring.

The Report of the Inquiry draws special attention to the following passage from the Minutes of the meeting of April 12:

“We must prepare to use means which will carry us to the realization of our aims.”

We do not think it necessary to make any statement on these words, as they were not followed by any violent or any illegal act. The political hostility of the Union to the dictatorship is clearly shown by the Minutes of the meeting of May 22-25 and of that of June 25, which show that the leaders openly and definitely *declared against enlistment in the Red Army*.

The Report of the Inquiry quotes several passages from the minutes of the branches. We must first state that these minutes are not, in fact, minutes of the branches. *The Union had no branches in Budapest*. Business was carried on at the dépôts and stations by committees elected by the personnel of the stations. These committees were composed of men who were not always members of the Union. There were committees of this kind at stations where the Union had very few members, and it more than once happened that the position adopted by the workers at these stations was more extreme than that of the stations where the members of the Union were in a majority. We have already shown in our general remarks that the leaders of the Union cannot be made responsible for individual acts; and yet it is

clear from a number of the passages quoted from the Minutes that in almost all cases the electric railway workers did but discuss — sometimes, no doubt, with some heat — methods of carrying on the struggle for their own material interest. We must also emphasize the fact that the meetings at the stations were not held by order of the central leaders, but were got up by the Party organizations of the district. The Union did not forbid these demonstrations because it could not do so, seeing, that the political organizations of all other Parties had equally free access with those of the Social Democratic party to the electric railway workers. It is not necessary to state that the tone of the meetings which took place during the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be compared with that of the meetings which are held at present, for it is perfectly well-known that at that time *open opposition in a public meeting was bound to entail the death penalty*. Moreover, careful reading of the minutes of the station meetings would show that no possible objection can be made to what took place at them. Neither can any objection be made to the minutes of the meeting at Budapest on June 21, 1918, if, in reading them, consideration is given to the workers' exasperated state of mind, the result of what had happened at the engine workshops.

In most of the meetings, the speakers merely stated facts. Some of these speakers are persons who are now the strongest supporters of the new régime. We cannot refrain from mentioning the further fact that spies were continually sent to Eugène Weltner's meetings. Obviously, the speaker was unable to express his own opinion at meetings. We also think that importance should not be attached to the meetings mentioned in the Report of the Inquiry as, in our opinion, an impartial judge should bear in mind the circumstances in which these meetings were held. We wish, however, to repeat that the central leaders of the Union cannot be made responsible for speeches made at the stations, even if one or other of its members took

part in these meetings as a speaker, or otherwise. The leaders could not control either what happened at the stations, or what the members did. Besides, at the time when these meetings took place, many men with a great deal more education and culture than the electric railway workers preferred to swim with the stream, although their political opinions were diametrically opposed to those of the great majority of the working classes. Such an accusation cannot be brought against the electric railway workers. The latter bitterly resented the fact that the companies did not treat them with the consideration which they had a right to expect. The terrible distress of the war had appalling effects on the unhappy working classes, who gave up all their energy, strength, and capacity to transport work, work which became far more arduous during the period of the war than it had been previously. Without murmuring they worked longer hours and for less pay than in peace time. Is it surprising that the general unrest affected these workers too and was expressed in words — though never in actions — which may perhaps to-day appear extreme? The mere principle of impartiality should prevent us from applying to events which took place at a particular moment and under particular conditions, when a great upheaval was taking place in the minds of the masses, the standards applicable to quite a different set of circumstances.

Records of the Unions. — The Report of the Inquiry shows that the records of the Union were found to contain no papers or documents from which detailed conclusions could be drawn regarding the political activities of the Union. The reason why the records were not found to contain such documents was simply that no documents of the kind ever existed. This once more proves our repeated assertion that the Union did not engage in political action. The Report also states that, in the course of the search, several packets of pamphlets published by the Social Democratic Party were discovered. Although the point is hardly

worth mention, we may reply that the Social Democratic Party used to send, and indeed, still sends, such publications to all trade unions, whether they ask for them or not. The leaders of the Union could not abrogate this right of the Social Democratic Party. Indeed, the fact that the Ministerial Commissioner found whole packets of these publications on the premises of the Union tends to show that the Managing Committee was not very active in distributing this literature.

We cannot refrain from mentioning at this point, although it is not mentioned in the Report of the Inquiry, that, from the time the Union was set up, its records have been kept in perfect order. This bears witness to the exemplary and praiseworthy way in which the Union was carried on.

Management of the Union Funds. — As the Report mentions, the accounts of Union funds were kept on the double entry system. The fact that the Union kept its accounts according to the method generally used in legitimate trade shows the great importance which it attached to the material interests of its members, and proves that it did not regard their subscriptions as gains accruing to itself. The Report emphasizes the fact that the Union paid 11,036·28 crowns as a subscription to the Council of Trade Unions, and 61,000 crowns as a Party subscription to the Social Democratic Party, including 2,750 crowns during the dictatorship of the proletariat. We might reply simply by referring to the provisions of heading (g), of paragraph 2 of our constitution. We do not, however, wish to evade explanations. The Trade Union Council is the central organization of Hungarian trade unions. It controls their actions and assists them when they cannot act by themselves. It forms a Court to which the trade unions can have recourse in the case of disputes. The Trade Union Council also carries on statistical inquiries into the trade union movement and gives legal protection to trade union members.

It is quite clear that an institution of this kind can only be maintained by the unions themselves, and we do not for a moment think of denying the connection between our union and Trade Union Council. The same applies to the question of the Party subscription. Many of the members of the Union were in a position to support a political Party, and they supported that Party whose tendencies were most closely allied to their own. After the dictatorship of the proletariat had been proclaimed, it is quite clear that the Union could not possibly refuse to pay its usual subscription. A refusal of this kind would have entailed the breaking off of relations, and the leaders of the Union had no right to expose members to the possible action of terrorists.

The Report also mentions that, in July and August 1918, the Union paid 2,178 crowns for the expenses of the movement. This sum was not, in fact, expended on action in favour of the movement, but on relief for the families of workers, who had been arrested or suspended after the general strike.

The Report also states that the central Executive Committee did not possess information on the management of the funds of the provincial branches. This must be a mistake, for this information is, in fact, at the disposal of the Union. We wish to make no observations on what is said about the collectors, as we are in agreement with the arrangements which the Ministerial Commissioner has made on this point.

The Constitution and its Observance. — On this point the Report of the Inquiry again states, as in the preceding section, that the Union paid regular subscriptions, not only to the Trade Union Council, but also to the Social Democratic Party. On this point we refer to our observations in the preceding sections. We must add that we consider this subscription to the Party as being in accordance with our constitution. The Report also accuses us of not having held a single meeting of delegates, and of not having used the

funds of the Union in accordance with section 4 of the constitution. The Union was set up on October 20, 1917. Even if it had begun to work on the very next day, the Executive Committee need not have called a meeting of delegates before October 20, 1919. The Union, however, was suspended on August 16, 1919, and we repeat, even if it had resumed work on October 20th, it would not have been able to act in accordance with its constitution, as this would have been prevented by the Ministerial Order for its suppression. This defence is perfectly accurate and unimpeachable. We venture, nevertheless, to draw attention to the fact that the Union did not begin its work, in accordance with its constitution, until January 1, 1919. Although it would have had a right to call an Extraordinary Meeting of delegates, it did not do so, simply because this meeting would have been held under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this was not considered desirable.

The Report also remarks on the fact that there was no list of members who had not paid their subscription. This must be a mistake. Nobody would make out a list which was not required simply because the constitution might allow them to do so. There is more justification for the remark concerning the amount of members' subscriptions. It had really been decided that the subscription should be raised at a delegates' meeting. Circumstances, however, forced the Executive Committee to take the decision on themselves, for had not the subscription been raised, the diminished purchasing power of money would have plunged the Union into financial catastrophe. The Executive Committee considered that this must be avoided in the interests of the members themselves. The electric railway workers did not set up a union simply in order that it might become bankrupt, but in order that it might support them on a sound basis. It would, moreover, have been impossible to convene a constitutional meeting of delegates for the purpose of raising the subscription. In fact, the decision to raise the subscription is as authoritative as if it had been made by

a meeting of delegates: it was agreed to, not only by the Executive Committee, but also by the shop stewards' Committee, consisting of representatives of the stations.

As regards relief, the Report points out that it was allocated by a delegates' meeting and not according to fixed rules. Only part of this accusation is justified, namely, that the rules were not fixed by a delegates' meeting. *The relief was, however, allocated according to fixed rules.*

The Report also points out, in reference to Chapter 14 of the constitution, that the leaders of the union included Eugène Weltner, A. Szakaszi, P. Dénes, who were not electric railway workers. We venture to point out that the leading officials and chief administrators of trade unions often do not belong to the trade of the union for which they work. As, however, they occupy responsible positions, they are bound to be members of the Executive Committee. The regulations of the Union allow it to engage staff who are not electric railway workers. If it had been definitely laid down that only electric railway workers could be employed by the Union, they could not have had a typist; yet the work of a typist in an administrative organization is not so important as that of a secretary or manager.

Paragraph 8 of section 5 of the Report once more mentions that no delegates' meeting was called. We have already made our observations on this point. The Report contains the extraordinary statement that the constitution fails to fix the method of electing the Central Executive Committee or the period for which it functions. As the delegates' meeting is a *sovereign* institution, it can, of course, lay down the methods of election for each particular case, and as the Executive Committee can only be elected by the delegates' meeting, it is quite clear that the period during which it functions is *from one meeting of delegates to the next*. The Report objects that the Central Executive Committee did not control the administration of the branches. The contrary is proved by the cash book, which shows that the Executive Committee investigated the local branches from

time to time. The reports of these investigations can indeed be seen, appended to the accounts. At this point we must once more emphasize the fact that there was no branch at Budapest. Chapter II, paragraph 18, of the constitution lays down that the branches must send in their accounts each month. As, however, all expenses were paid by the Central Office, and as the administration was also centralized, the dates when the accounts were sent in were a matter of indifference. In section V, the Report objects that there was no list of the Minutes of branch meetings, which should have been kept in the central records. This objection seems somewhat strange, when we remember that the Report does not once mention the perfect order and accuracy which characterize the whole administration of the Union, in spite of the extremely small staff employed. One of the duties of the Union was to use the subscriptions of the members in the most economical way. If the Union had kept all the regulations laid down by the constitution to the letter, it would have had to employ a much larger staff, whose salaries would have had to be paid by the Union. It must not be forgotten that *the chief object for which the funds were to be used was to help workers who were in need and not to waste this hard-won money on unnecessary administrative expenses.*

Our conscience is quite clear in stating that we conformed strictly both to the *purpose* and the *spirit* of the whole constitution. That is the important thing, not literal obedience to *forms* to the detriment of essentials. The executive carried out its duties honestly, and deserves praise rather than criticism.

The Official Gazette of the Union. — The official gazette of the Union was a paper entitled *A Villamos*. Such is the opening statement of section 6 of the Report of the Inquiry. This is quite true, but it does not follow that the Central Executive Committee was responsible for all the articles which appeared in the paper; for, as it is stated at the foot

of the third column of the last page of the paper *A Villamos*, the official gazette is managed by a responsible editor and not by the Executive Committee of the Union. Moreover, *the owner of the paper is a private person and not the Executive Committee*. Consequently, the latter *can only control* the section headed "Official Communications." The responsible editor may be called upon, in accordance with the press laws, to answer for any articles in his paper which might contain remarks hostile to the State or to the order of society, or of a libellous or immoral character, etc. We have therefore no official remark to make on this part of the Report, and merely submit the following observations for the convenience of the Ministerial Commissioner.

The paper entitled *A Villamos* was, and still is, a Social Democratic organ. It was concerned not only with economic, but also with social, questions. Its point of view on economics and social politics naturally corresponds to Social Democratic ideas, and it regards economic and social events from this standpoint. As the paper had approximately 8,000-10,000 subscribers among the workmen on the electric railways, and as these subscribers took in the paper quite voluntarily and under no compulsion, we must suppose that the paper expressed the opinions of the electric railway workers and that the editor of the paper had no reason for modifying either the tone or the contents of the paper. This was all the more true as the paper was *subject to the preventive censorship of the Public Prosecutor*. Until the time when the dictatorship of the proletariat was proclaimed, the paper always gave free expression to its own opinions.

This ceased to be the case after the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established. From this time on the articles which appeared in it were sent to it, through the Munka agency, from the press bureau of the People's Commissariat. We will say nothing about the detailed quotations from the paper, as it was not edited by us, but by an independent editor. We must, however, state that

the paper *A Villamos* did immense service to the cause of transport; it carried on propaganda among the workmen of the electric railways in the interests of disciplined work, and did its best to allay the great discontent which was rife among electrical workers. No one who is acquainted with the great power of suggestion and with the soothing influence exercised on the masses by the printed word will for a moment doubt our assertion.

Positions occupied by the leaders. — The nomination of P. Dénes and Eugène Weltner as Ministerial Commissaries was made in accordance with correct legal procedure and no objection can be raised to it. The Report states that the Executive Committee also sent representatives to the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. We must here emphasize the fact that the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, which acted under the Károlyi Government, were not identical with those which existed under the dictatorship. Their aims and constitution were entirely different, and the members of the electrical workers' trade union could not refrain from taking part in them without injuring the interests of transport.

After the dictatorship of the proletariat, Eugène Weltner became a member of the management of the United Electric Railways of the City of Budapest. He ceased to hold this post on June 15. We cannot suppose that the Ministerial Commissioner quotes this as a reproach to the Union. Eugène Weltner only undertook the position against his will, under the pressure of a very large number of urgent requests.

The Union took no official part in the Workers' Council, which controlled the United Electric Railways of the City of Budapest, nor in the local control councils. In our opinion, however, even if it had taken part, it could not be held responsible, as it would only have done so in the interests of transport.

The Report concludes by stating that it was impossible to prove that *members of the Executive Committee had*

accepted political mandates. We wish to thank those who conducted the Inquiry for this unprejudiced statement.

In conclusion, we venture to believe that the Ministerial Commissioner will make *an unprejudiced examination* of our statements, and will be so good as to convey the result of the Inquiry as soon as possible to the competent authorities, so that some decision concerning our greatly tried Union may at length be communicated to us. We hope that *this decision will be a satisfactory one*, and that our Union will once more obtain freedom of action, and be able to carry on its work in the interests of the Electric Railway Workers and of the public.

Yours, etc.,

Budapest, February 18, 1920.

This Union also handed to us a letter from the Minister of Commerce to the Chairman of the National Association of Christian Socialist Workmen on the Electric Railways. The text is as follows:

LETTER FROM THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE
TO THE PROPOSED NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHRISTIAN
SOCIALIST WORKMEN ON THE ELECTRIC RAILWAYS

I hereby inform you of my decision as to the request presented on October 30 to the Minister of the Interior by the Chairman. Kálmán Keffinger, with regard to the transformation of the Union of Hungarian Electric and Narrow-Gauge Railway Workmen into a National Association of Christian Socialist Workmen on the Electric Railways.

I do this in the hope, and at the same time on the condition, that the Association will work on a patriotic, Christian, and national basis without engaging in politics, and serve the material and moral interests of its members in harmony with the interests of the State and with the strictest respect for the provisions of the law.

I hope to see these essential conditions laid down in the constitution of the Union. I make it a condition for the final and effective recognition of the new Union that a new constitution accepted by the General Meeting shall be presented, and I request the Association to submit its constitution for confirmation as soon as possible.

I shall allow the funds of the former union to be transferred, if the members of the new union are the same as those of the old. This will be done at the same time as the constitution is confirmed.

(Signed) HEGYESHALMY.

Budapest, November 22, 1919.

TRADE UNION OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

The Trade Union of Domestic Workers, 90 per cent. of whose members were women, was also suspended. As we were completely unacquainted with this fact, we did not ask the Government to make any statement about it. We shall not quote the statement of the Union, as we have no statement from the Government.

M. RUBINEK, Minister of Commerce, and Vice-President of the Council, made the following statement to us concerning trade unions which had been dissolved.

We were obliged to dissolve some trade unions. The right of workmen in all trades to form unions, however, remains untouched, and there is nothing to prevent members of unions which have been dissolved from submitting new constitutions and founding a new union. We do nothing to prevent this. For example, we gave permission for the founding of a new Miners' Union at Tönk in place of the one which had been dissolved.

CHAPTER III

Statements received from the Federation of Christian Trade Unions

We have examined above the complaints and claims of the trade unions affiliated to the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions. We must now examine whether the National Federation of Christian Social Trade Unions of Hungary is in a similar position.

We received the following statements in reply to our questions to the National Federation:

We have to give notice of all our meetings to the police. We were forbidden to hold some meetings, (though these were not meetings of the members of our branches), especially at the Polytechnic, where a meeting of metal workers was forbidden. The same thing occurred in certain provincial towns. Last month we failed to receive permission to hold a meeting of municipal employees, because a strike was expected. Our newspaper is sometimes subjected to censorship. We append a copy which has been censored. We do not, however, complain of these measures, as they are in accordance with the law, and as it was owing to our political tendencies that we were forbidden to hold these meetings. If, at present, Social Democratic trade unions in the provinces are forbidden to hold meetings, this is done in their own interests, because they have been allied to the Communists and the populace might molest them.

Q. — Are you not favoured by the Government?

A. — It would be very natural if the Government did favour us, as we are in agreement with its policy. The central organization, however, is not aware of any such state of affairs; in fact, we think that the Government is trying to win over Social Democratic unions.

M. SKÉKELY, however, who is Secretary of State at the Ministry of Social Welfare, and at the same time one of the chief leaders of the Federation, made the following statement:

In several cases we obtained important concessions from the Government. We obtained a considerable increase

in the flour ration for workmen. We also obtained the formation of Conciliation Committees to decide disputes about wages in various industries, and so on. In this way we have done greater service to the working classes than by useless and undesirable agitation.

The Minister of the Interior made the following statement in an interview:

The Government does not intend to favour the Christian Socialists. Public opinion, however, does so. The Christian Socialist unions are for us, while the others are against us.

The Minister added: The Government desires to see only such organizations as refrain from attacks on the national safety. The Christian Socialist unions accepting this principle do, in fact, receive preferential treatment.

At Szeged we had an interview with militant members of Christian Socialist unions. They gave us an account sensibly different, especially on the question of giving notice of meetings. Their statement was as follows:

In addition to two regular unions we have several free associations, which are not interfered with and can act as they like, although they have not yet had their constitutions approved. These associations are groups representing particular trades, and have been formed within the Party for the discussion of their common interests. In reality they are already acting as trade unions and wish to have their constitutions approved. As regards State employees, however, we are met with opposition from the heads of departments. During the French occupation we were obliged to give notice of the meetings which we held; but we did this in the form of a general announcement at the beginning of the year, stating the date and time of our regular weekly meetings. We made a statement of this kind at the beginning of the present year, and we have gone on in our usual way since the promulgation of the new Order as to the right of holding meetings. We are continuing to meet, as we consider that the notice we have already given is sufficient. The authorities also seem to be satisfied, as they have made no observation on the subject.

At our meetings we quite freely discuss, not only strictly trade union questions, but political questions too. For example, we might discuss a Bill moved by the Government in the National Assembly.

The right to strike

At the present time there are very few strikes in Hungary, and these are only partial ones.

There is serious unemployment, and this is calculated to cause considerable diminution in the frequency of strikes.

The workmen know quite well, one of the employers told us, that there is not much work in the factory. A strike is very likely to cause works to shut down. The workmen know how difficult it is to obtain coal. They have lost the habit of striking.

We asked several employers whether there was any possibility of a strike. One of them said: "They are afraid to strike." — "But how could they be prevented from striking?" The employer replied by a smile. Another employer told us that he was quite certain that, if there was a strike, no one would do anything to the strikers, while a third asserted that any strike would be mercilessly crushed by military detachments.

In view of the limitation and restriction of the right of meeting, however, and of the fact that strikes have never been legally recognized, it seems that it would be very difficult for the workmen to meet and decide on a strike.

M. RUBINEK, Minister of Commerce and Vice-President of the Council, made a statement to us on this point.

I had a long discussion yesterday with my subordinates on the question of preparing social legislation. We are going to set up a Commission which will include, among others, representatives of various points of view among the working classes, not excepting the Socialists. This Commission will work out a Bill to regulate, in particular, the exercise of the right to strike. We hope to be able to bring this Bill before the Chamber this autumn.

CHAPTER IV

The Government Reply

We had interviews with the Ministers of Justice, of the Interior, of Commerce,¹ and the Chief of Police, and asked them several questions with regard to complaints and claims concerning trade union rights which had come under our notice.² The following is the substance of our interview with the Minister of the Interior.

Q. — Can you give us any information on administrative practice with regard to trade unions?

A. — The question of trade unions has been settled by various ministerial regulations. Each union has to submit its proposed constitution to the Minister of the Interior for his approval. Any union which acts without an approved constitution may be dissolved. Before the war it was very rare for approval of a constitution to be withheld. Most associations were not allowed to form local branches, but trade unions were specially favoured and were allowed to do this. This is still in force.

Q. — What were the reasons for the recent Order on the right of meeting?

A. — These measures were taken in view of political events (Café Club episode)³.

Q. — Could you give us any general figures of the number of meetings which have been allowed and forbidden throughout the kingdom?

A. — No such figures are available. The *Főispán*⁴ in the provinces deal with these meetings, and up to the present no figures have been collected.

Q. — Do you receive reports of these meetings?

¹ Both the Minister of Commerce and the Minister of the Interior have certain rights of control over trade unions.

² We were only able to question them about the facts of which we had heard at that time.

³ Two Jews were killed in the Café Club at Budapest on July 23 by members of the Nationalist Association called *Ebredő Magyarok* (the Awakening Magyars).

⁴ Officials corresponding to Prefects.

- A. — No: so far we have only received lists of the meetings which are allowed to take place. It is a good idea, however, and in future I will have such reports sent.
- Q. — Could you give us any information on this point as regards one particular town?
- A. — That would be very difficult, but I will have the matter looked into, and I hope in a few weeks' time to be able to give you the information you require.¹

Interview with M. Tomcsányi, Chief of Police

We asked Mr. Tomcsányi, Chief of Police, the following questions:

- Q. — What is the nature of the control exercised over trade unions by the police?
- A. — There is practically no control. We see that they keep within the limits laid down in their constitutions. The Order which was published yesterday² shows the extent to which we respect industrial associations (Trade unions are registered as industrial associations).
- Q. — What were the reasons for the first Order on the right of meeting?
- A. — There were several reasons.³ In the first place, the excitement which the victory of the Russian Bolshevik troops aroused, especially in the Eastern *comitats*. This excitement was particularly noticeable in the mines. The Café Club episode was another cause.
- Q. — Were not local meetings forbidden in the provinces?
- A. — I do not think that local branches are unable to hold meetings in the provinces. In any case, I have no knowledge of such a thing.
- Q. — Do the military interfere in the arrangement of the meetings?
- A. — The military cannot forbid any meeting except in the mines, which are under military control. The supervision

¹ We never received this information.

² August 29, 1920.

³ See the Memorandum from the police quoted above.

of the meetings is the duty of the police. I recently gave this reply to a member of the forces. Prevention of meetings by the military will not occur again. Such measures fall within my competence and I shall take very great care that no one but the police takes decisions of this kind.

Q. — Have not reliable shop stewards sometimes been arrested? For example, in the Ganz-Danubius works?

A. — No, we do not arrest a shop steward. That would be no reason for arrest. We only arrest people who might be suspected of Communism. As to the Ganz-Danubius works, I have heard rumours of that affair. If any persons were arrested there — I do not know if they were — it could have been only because they were suspected of Communism.

Interview with Mr. Tomcsányi, Minister of Justice

MR. TOMCSÁNYI, Minister of Justice, and the brother of the Chief of Police, made the following statement:

The Orders which have been issued limit all kinds of associations. Our past experience has taught us that it is much better to keep them under supervision if we want to know what is going on, for these associations have carried on a policy hostile to the nation, the State, and to public order. Formerly, we did not supervise them closely enough, and this made it possible for them to stir up class against class. I must add that it is in their own interests to supply complete information to the Government, for there are persons who will pretend to be members of an association and commit illegal acts in order to discredit it.¹ I cannot tell you whether meetings have been forbidden or not. Certainly it is not the intention of the Government to forbid them, but I myself am unable to say whether such a thing has ever occurred. In any case, it does not happen frequently.

¹ Mr. Tomcsányi was alluding to the Café Club episode.

Interview with Mr. Rubinek, Minister of Commerce

Mr. RUBINEK, Minister of Commerce and Acting Vice-President of the Council, made the following statement to us :

I had a long discussion yesterday with my departmental chiefs on the subject of social legislation. A commission is to be constituted, with Mr. Pap as chairman, comprising amongst its members representatives of the various sections of the labour movement, Socialists included. This Commission will draft a Bill which will, in the first instance, prescribe regulations as to the exercise of the right to strike, and this Bill we hope to be able to introduce in the Chamber in the autumn. Opinion in the Chamber will undoubtedly be very favourable to the Bill, for the Christian Socialists are numerically strong in the Chamber; nor must it be forgotten that in purely industrial matters the Christian Socialists are indistinguishable from the Socialists.

The workers' right of association and right to strike have never been contested. The constitutions of workers' associations are not required to prohibit the organization of a strike. Of course, when we have a law, strikes will have to be declared and conducted in conformity with it. The only thing which workers' associations are forbidden to do is to take part in party politics. They may allude to political questions at their meetings — it would be impossible to forbid it — but they cannot be permitted to raise funds for a political party or to canvass officially for the candidates of a party during elections. These rules apply both to Christian Socialists and to Socialists. If now and again they have been differently applied to the two parties, the blame must be laid on individuals.

We have been compelled to dissolve some unions. But the workers' right to organize remains intact in every branch of industry, and there is nothing to prevent the members of dissolved unions from submitting a new constitution and forming a new union. We shall not prevent them from doing so. At Tönk we have authorized the formation of a

new miners' union in place of the one which had been dissolved.

There is one problem which we cannot understand. In this country there are a very large number of unemployed, more than 100,000 in Budapest. How do they live? The reply frequently made is that they engage in illicit trading as middlemen. That may be true in some cases, and it is quite natural, for trade is less laborious than industrial work. But that is not enough to maintain all these men. The majority of the unemployed do not want to go back to industrial work. Manufacturers who need workmen cannot find any. The workers have lost the habit of regular work and are disinclined to acquire it again. But how, then, do they live? The only solution that suggests itself to us is to suppose that they receive money from abroad, probably from Russia.

CHAPTER V

The Employers' Standpoint

In Hungary we were frequently and repeatedly in touch with employers' circles, and we regret very much that, with one exception ¹, they have not authorized us to publish in full statements which might reveal their identity.

In recent years, before the war and of course also during the war, relations between workers and employers had been regulated by collective bargaining. In the metal, leather, printing, and flour-exporting industries disputed questions were regulated by collective bargains, concluded in most cases between employers' associations and trade unions. During the Károlyi régime collective bargains were concluded in almost all industries, owing to the ever-increasing pressure exercised by the trade unions.

After the fall of the Commune, the employers — except in the printing industries, in which relations between employers and workers have always been closer — decided not to negotiate with the unions, but to come to an agreement amongst themselves as to conditions of work, and then to publish these agreements. Latterly employers have again begun to negotiate unofficially with the unions, but without concluding agreements with them.

In my opinion, one employer said to us, unless special circumstances arise, we shall soon return to the system of collective bargaining. But we cannot agree to a system of shop stewards in our industry. In any case, we are in favour of co-operation with the trade unions, but the question is made more difficult by the fact that there are both Social Democratic unions and Christian Social unions.

One employer stated :

At the present moment our relations with our workers are excellent. There is no more question of collective bargains; the workers do not want them any more than we do, for they have realized that these agreements benefited only the inferior workers. The workers are now insisting on piece-work, and they earn considerably more than the standard wage per hour. According to calculations made by the Socialist Party itself, the minimum cost of living for a working-class family with three children is about

¹ It seems to us impossible to report in full a single, isolated conversation, for it might give an erroneous impression as to the situation.

515 crowns a week. Most of my workmen earn much more than that. In one of my works, where I have introduced a new plant, I wanted as an experiment to put the workers on time-rates until January next ; but they refused.

Discipline has been restored in the labour world ; and we are now turning out 80 per cent. of the normal output.

We have daily dealings with the unions, and here I ought to state that we know of none but Socialist unions. I do not know whether Christian unions exist or not, for I do not interfere in the private affairs of the workers ; but officially I have never heard of any and, as far as I know, there cannot be more than twelve or thirteen of my workmen who belong to that movement.

We absolutely refuse to deal with shop stewards. We want to deal with the workers themselves and not with intermediaries and political agitators. When a worker comes to me and begins : “ I am speaking on behalf of ”, I send him off at once and say : “ Send me a real worker who speaks for himself. ” Then we easily come to terms. As I said before, our relations are excellent and the workers could not be in a better state of mind.

To one employer we put the following question :

Q. — Is trade unionism fettered in any way?

A. — As a matter of fact, I believe that trade unionism, more especially provincial trade unionism, is not unfettered. Our authorities have never had the social sense. This is not the mere result of Communism ; even before that trade unionism and Socialism meant the red flag and revolution to most of them. At Budapest, where there are international representatives, the authorities do not dare to interfere with trade unionism quite so much as to close trade union offices and forbid meetings ; but I believe this is done in the provinces. The authorities invariably declare Bolshevism and Socialism to be synonymous terms and swear that

the catastrophe in which the country is involved is entirely due to Communism and Socialism.

Q. — What is your personal opinion as to this system?

A. — It seems to me most unjust; not merely the employer, but the whole world, is aware that the percentage of Communist workers is very small. They should not have been made to suffer. I hope there will be more freedom when Bolshevism has ceased to exist in Russia.

Q. — Were the factories not searched to find the shop stewards?

A. — The other day an officers' commission came to ask me what percentage of the workers in our factories were Social Democrats. I asked them what was their military rank and if they had police powers. They showed me their papers and said they belonged to the *Karhatalom* (a military organization). My answer was: "I do not question my workers on the subject; the only thing I care to know is whether they are good workmen." They then asked: "What is the proportion of Jews among your workers?" I replied: "I don't know, it doesn't interest me, and even if I did know, I would not tell you." "What about the office staff?" My answer was the same.

Similar visits were paid to several factories; the President of our Association discussed the matter with the Minister of Commerce, who must have spoken to the Minister of War; for the visits stopped.

We put the following questions to several employers¹ jointly:

Q. — Do you think the present restrictions on trade union action necessary?

One of them said:

A. — I think they are necessary as defensive measures. It is not a proper state of affairs, but for the present it is a necessary one.

¹ Among these employers was one whom we had interviewed previously and who very considerably modified the liberal tenour of his first declarations in the presence of his fellow employers.

Another replied :

A. — The restrictions will be necessary so long as the Russians are so near us.

A third said :

A. — People are in a state of extraordinary mental excitement; trade union conferences and meetings are bound to excite the workers. Present restrictions will be superfluous when the world has returned to pre-war conditions. At present all forms of over-excitement must be avoided. However, things are much calmer than they were, and very soon all these restrictions will become superfluous.

Q. — Do you think government measures are more severe in the provinces?

A. — Of course, officials naturally tend to exaggerate government instructions. The same officials who were at their posts during the Communist period and were then altogether "Red" are now altogether "White". It is very natural. All these measures are a source of annoyance to everybody, but no great misfortune. I repeat that at present all these regulations are essential.

Q. — Do you notify your meetings to the police?

A. — We always do so and they have the right to be present, but they don't come.

Q. — Do you deal with shop stewards?

A. — In theory we reject the system, but, as a matter of fact, shop stewards exist in every factory. At present we discuss minor questions with the trade unions; but these negotiations are of a purely friendly character and are not in any sense official.

Q. — Has any inquiry been made in your works to ascertain the opinions of your workers?

A. — I know that visits have been made to some works; two or three officers have asked if a statement showing the opinions of the workers could be prepared. But these visits have stopped.

Q. — What are your relations with the Christian unions ?

A. — We do not deal more with them, on the contrary, perhaps even less than with the Social Democrats.

Q. — Have you difficulties with your workers ?

A. — We have had no real difficulties ; they are not satisfied with their wages, but output is more than 70 % of the normal output, in some cases more than 100 %.

Q. — Have you heard of the "Horthy day" ¹?

A. — Yes, one small factory wanted to work on that day in order to hand over its profits to the Government, but its example was not generally followed. Most factories stopped work on that day.

We questioned another employer in another branch of industry, a man who from his position should be well acquainted with the opinions prevalent among employers.

Q. — Do you differentiate between the Social Democratic unions and the Christian unions ?

A. — The employers make no difference between the two kinds of unions. They do not like either of them. But we dislike the Christian Unions more than the Social Democratic, for the former are favoured by the Government, which is very Agrarian.

Q. — Have the Christian Socialists been subsidized by the Government ?

A. — I do not think they are receiving subsidies now, but I think they must have received some under the Friedrich and Huszár Ministries. Books and pamphlets were distributed, and that could not have been done without money.

Q. — What do the employers think of the restrictions on trade union liberties ?

A. — We are hostile, because these laws and restrictions are a hindrance to production.

Q. — But their object is to increase production ?

¹ Certain statements were made to us, alleging a large number of workers to have worked two hours on May 4 in order to give their wage to the Government. This is called *A Horthy Nap* (The "Horthy day").

A. — That is mere empty talk ; in general, we are hostile to reaction, because it has its origin in militarism, which is expensive. In general, we are in favour of a policy of conciliation towards the working class.

CHAPTER VI

Mine Administration

In the course of our inquiry we paid particular attention to labour conditions in the mines. In spite of the opposition of both employers and workers, an Order declaring the mines to be munition works was issued on July 28 last; a large number of complaints and protests reached us on this topic. On two occasions we went to two mining districts, Tatabánya and Salgótarján, in order to investigate the matter fully.

The Order regulating the coal industry was issued on July 28, 1920; it is naturally based on the Exceptional Measures enacted in view of War (Act of 1912 prolonged by the Act of 1920). We reproduce the text below.

DECREE OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT (N^o 407/1920) CONCERNING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

In view of the extraordinary conditions which at present exist in the coal mining industry, and in view of the necessity of ensuring that the production of fuel shall be uninterrupted and that the country shall have a sufficient supply of coal, the Royal Government decrees, in virtue of the Exceptional Measures enacted in view of War :

§ 1. All matters pertaining to coal production and the supplying of the country with coal shall, until further notice, devolve upon the Military Coal Inspector, the Government Commissioner for Coal Production, and the Commissioner for Coal Distribution.

§ 2. *General Regulations.* (1) The Military Coal Inspector shall be under the control of the Minister of National Defence, and the Government Commissioner for Coal Distribution under the control of the Minister of Commerce. These two officials shall be appointed by their respective Ministers. The present head of the Mining Department at the Ministry of Finance shall be appointed Government Commissioner for Coal Production, and in his capacity as

head of this Department shall be under the control of the Minister of Finance.

The Government Commissioner for Coal Distribution shall be sworn in by the Minister under whose control he is placed, unless he is a civil servant.

(2) The Military Coal Inspector and the Government Commissioners for Coal Production and Distribution shall have their offices at Budapest.

Regulations for the appointment of deputies for the Military Coal Inspector and the Government Commissioners and for the constitution and organization of their respective departments shall be drawn up by the Minister concerned.

Should the requirements of the office make it necessary to engage experts with special qualifications under the control of the Military Coal Inspector, such experts shall be appointed by the competent Minister on the proposal of the Military Inspector.

The Minister of Finance shall fix salaries and expenses, which shall be defrayed by the coal industry.

(3) The three bodies mentioned above shall be autonomous within the limits of the functions assigned to them by law. They shall be authorized to enact the necessary measures on their own authority, and may communicate directly with any authorities whatever. The three bodies shall be independent one of the other; but they shall be bound to supply one another with information, to render mutual assistance one to the other, and to act in collaboration.

(4) Matters of common interest to all three shall be dealt with under the chairmanship of the Military Coal Inspector. Should no agreement be reached, the question shall be settled by a decision of the the Council of Ministers, based on the report of the Minister whose department is most closely concerned in the matter in question.

(5) The bodies instituted by this Decree and their authorized employees shall be empowered, in order, that they may deal satisfactorily with the matters entrusted to them

and in order that they may understand the situation, to examine, in so far as is required by their duties, all books, documents, plans, correspondence, and industrial plant in all mining undertakings belonging to the State or to private individuals, and also in all factories, etc. where coal is consumed.

(6) In virtue of this Decree, the three bodies shall be bound to render all possible assistance to mining undertakings both as to their supply of raw materials and as to the food-stuffs dépôts established under § 131 (g) of the Mining Act.

(7) The Military Coal Inspector and the Government Commissioners for Coal Production and Distribution shall publish their general regulations in the *Budapesti Közlöny*.

§ 3. *Functions of the Military Coal Inspector.* — Within the limits of existing statutory regulations, all measures of a military nature which are necessary in the mining industry to preserve order, protect plant and equipment, secure supplies, ensure the transport of coal and prevent abuses in the distribution of coal, shall fall within the province of the Military Coal Inspector. In particular, it shall be his duty:

(1) To ensure safety and order in the mines. For this purpose he shall send military detachments or, should occasion arise, dispatch his employees and, in case of need, take military measures.

(2) To keep constant watch, through his local agents, over the general working of mines, over output, over the conduct of all employees, and more especially over the supply and use of materials (timber, explosives, carbides, lighting benzine, etc.), and to take decisions in agreement with the competent bodies.

(3) To give energetic support to the managements of coal mines in order to encourage coal production; in case of need he shall aid the management or other responsible

authority, within the limits of the regulations pertaining to that mine, to maintain discipline among the workers and to execute orders which have been enacted. An inspection committee shall supervise all relief and social welfare institutions.

(4) To provide military escorts where necessary for the transport of coal from the mines, for coal trains, and for the transport of material and food supplies to mining centres, to supervise the distribution of coal, and to prevent abuses which might arise in connection therewith.

(5) Should the management of a mine prove unable to maintain discipline on the basis of the regulations pertaining to that mine, or should the output fall below standard, or decrease without good reason by fault or negligence of the workers, to take measures in agreement with the Government Commissioner for Coal Production, to deal with those workers in the mine who have been the cause of the decrease in output, and if necessary with the remaining employees, with a view to placing the guilty persons under military discipline (stoppage of holidays, summons to military service, etc.)

Local regulations shall be out of force during the period of the duration of such exceptional measures.

The application of exceptional measures or regulations shall be suspended by the Military Coal Inspector in agreement with the Commissioner for Coal Production.

All functions of a military and police nature shall devolve upon the agent of the Military Coal Inspector for the period of the duration of measures taken under the first paragraph of this section. Local authorities shall not issue orders or put them into execution without the consent of the aforesaid agent.

The Minister for National Defence, in agreement with the Minister of the Interior, shall, on the basis of his order 10444/1/1920, state conditions for placing the *Gendarm-erie* and the State police under military control.

The Coal Inspector shall in such cases hand over pers-

ons guilty of revolutionary activities to the competent police authorities to have them interned. Internment proceedings shall be instituted without delay.

All workers may in such cases receive their immediate discharge, should the Coal Inspector agree to assume responsibility therefor. Requests on this subject shall be addressed to the Minister of the Interior.

§ 4. *Functions of the Government Commissioner for Coal Production.* — The Government Commissioner for Coal Production shall be authorized, within the limits of existing statutory regulations, to take all steps necessary to ensure and, if possible, encourage, coal production. His functions shall be more especially the following:

(1) He shall appoint experts to inspect mining plant, follow the course of production, and examine all elements and factors which are of importance, with a view to increasing intensity of work and production.

(2) He shall take necessary expert advice to institute a careful examination as to whether the quantity and quality of output in a mine could be considerably improved by the sinking of new shafts, or the installation of new plant, or a change in working methods.

(3) He shall follow the course of labour conditions and of wage-rates. While supporting the just and equitable demands of the workers, he shall take steps to ensure that the workers manifest due zeal for their work.

(4) He shall be empowered to requisition, within the limits of existing statutory regulations, material required in order to ensure an uninterrupted working. He shall, if necessary, supervise the distribution and assignment of other material.

(5) He may exact the collaboration of mining engineers, whether in State or in private employment. He may also delegate to lower-grade mining officials preliminary arrangements concerning matters which come within his province.

(6) The Government Commissioner for Coal Production shall be authorized to control the working of small mines whose managers are not qualified mining engineers; in order to encourage output, he may, on his own responsibility, but within the limits of his functions, enact compulsory measures and cause them to be executed at the expense of the enterprise, subject, however, to the proviso that these measures shall not necessitate much capital outlay.

In the case of mines in which the managers are qualified mining engineers, the Government Commissioner for Coal Production may issue a legal summons to the management calling upon them to remove the causes affecting its stability or hindering an increase in output, or to make changes and take steps which may seem necessary or desirable for this purpose.

Should the management in question consider that the conditions imposed by the summons are inexpedient or prejudicial, they may, within eight days from the notification of the summons, submit a communication direct to the Government Commissioner for Coal Production. The Government Commissioner shall thereupon convene a committee of experts to examine the recommendations made by the Commissioner. This committee shall be composed of two members nominated by the Government Commissioner for Coal Production and two members nominated by the owner of the mine. The fifth member of the committee of experts, who shall be chairman, shall be elected by the nominated members. Should they fail to agree, the chairman shall be nominated by the Minister of Finance from among three persons proposed by the National Federation of Hungarian Engineers and Architects and possessing the above-mentioned qualification.

The findings of the committee of experts, which shall be final, shall be carried by a simple majority. In case of equality of votes the chairman shall have a casting vote. The execution of the committee's findings shall be in the

hands of the Government Commission of Coal Production. The Commission shall supervise the execution of these findings; costs shall be defrayed by the mine management.

If the committee of experts fails to find that the appeal of the management is justified, the whole expenses of the committee shall be borne by such management.

Where, in the cases mentioned under the first paragraph of this section, the execution of the summons of the Government Commissioner for Coal Production involves considerable capital outlay, appeal may be made to the committee.

§ 5. *Functions of the Government Commissioner for Coal Distribution.* — The Government Commissioner for Coal Distribution may, within the limits of existing statutory regulations, enact all measures which may be necessary to regulate the import, the sale, the use, and the consumption of coal.

The National Coal Commission shall continue to be governed by Decree No. 72/1917 M. Pr. published and promulgated in No. 5 of *Budapesti Közlöny*.

The Minister of Commerce shall, however, be authorized to contravene this Decree by provisionally referring to the Government Commissioner for Coal Distribution matters which fall within the competence of the Commission.

§ 6. Any person guilty of a breach, or of aiding and abetting a breach, of the regulations issued or measures taken by the bodies instituted by this Decree shall be guilty of a contravention of the Decree, unless his act constitutes a more serious offence, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding 200 crowns.

Where the provisions of this Act have been contravened, stocks of coal involved in such contravention shall be liable to confiscation. The accuser may claim one-fifth of such confiscated stock; the remainder, after deduction of ex-

penses incurred, shall be handed over to the fund for the relief of disabled soldiers.

Actions brought in connection with contraventions of the present paragraph of this Act shall be decided by the public authorities in their capacity as police tribunal. Cases pertaining to the State police shall be decided by that body.

§ 7. The present Decree shall come into force on the day of its promulgation. The Ministers of National Defence, Finance, and Commerce shall be charged with the execution of the present Decree.

With the coming into force of the present Decree, Decree No. 7953/1919 M. Pr. of the Royal Hungarian Government shall be held to be repealed.

Budapest, July 28, 1920.

(Signed) Count Paul TELEKI,
President of the Council.

* * *

Before giving a report of our investigations at Tatabánya and Salgótarján, we reproduce some replies of the authorities to requests made to them to authorize meetings or the existence of local branches; these were transmitted to us before the investigations were made.

DECISIONS OF THE AUTHORITIES CONCERNING REQUESTS PUT
FORWARD BY MINERS FOR PERMISSION TO HOLD MEETINGS

B. 1999/1920

From the Főszolgabíró of the Tata District

Subject: Petition of Béla Cseplik, of Környe, containing a request of the local miners' union of Környe for permission to hold a meeting on the 25th inst. Agenda: election of the new committee and the festival of May 1.

Ruling: I am unable to grant the petition of Béla Cseplik, of Környe, in which the local miners' union of Környe requests

permission to hold a meeting at the Krausz inn at Környe, with the following agenda :

1. Election of the new committee ;
2. Celebration of May 1.

I therefore forbid the said meeting.

Reasons: The aforesaid meeting must be forbidden, firstly, because the statement of the petitioner that the local union, alleged to be represented by him, has an approved constitution, is false ; secondly, because we have incontrovertible proof, drawn from the petitioner's own words, that the second item on the agenda, the celebration of May 1, has international aims in view. It is obvious that an international festival offers a favourable opportunity to persons hostile to national ideals and to society to excite the working masses against peace and the established order of society ; for, though the authority of the constitution and the law has been re-established among them, the working masses are still under the influence of the Revolution.

I hereby communicate this decision to Béla Cseplik, of Környe, who has 15 days in which to appeal to the *Alispán*¹ of the *comitat* of Komárom.

Tatas, April 23, 1920.

(Signed) Stephan Fáy.

Z. 1702/1920

From the Főszolgabíró of the Hegyhát district

Subject: Request of the Central Federation of Hungarian Miners concerning the prohibition issued, which forbids the local unions of Komlő and Szászvár to hold a general meeting.

Ruling: I am unable to grant the petitions presented on April 17 and 22 by the local union of Szászvár, asking permission to meet on May 1 at 9 a. m. on the premises of Jakob Kellers at Szászvár. Nor can I consider the

¹ The *Alispán* is an official approximately equivalent to a French prefect, but the electorate which appoints him is composed of delegates of the well-to-do classes.

petition of the local union of Komlő, asking permission to hold a general meeting on the premises of Georg Csckes at Komlő for the purpose of electing the committee. This prohibition is based on the Order of April 19, published by the Minister of the Interior under No. Z. 1128/1920 Res., which prohibits on May 1 and the following days all meetings whose object is to celebrate May 1 and which, owing to the influence of the first Revolution, may disturb peace and public order.

At the same time, I notify the petitioner that the local unions of Komlő and Szászvár may resume their activities, when they have submitted their regular constitution to my approval, together with the minutes of the general meeting concerning that constitution and some copies of its text. The constitution of the above-named Federation, which was approved by Order No. 4756/VI/1919 B.M., does not, as a matter of fact, authorize the formation of any local branches, which are not themselves legally constituted or which do not possess duly approved constitutions of their own.

I hereby communicate this decision to the Central Federation of Hungarian Miners, which may within 15 days appeal to the Alispán of the *comitat*.

Sasd, April 24, 1920.

(Signed.)

Military Coal Department

No. 2. Salgótarján

Official Notice

I forbid all activity on the part of the local branch of the Miners' Union of Salgótarján within the area of the other communes.

It will be the duty of the police to keep watch in order to prevent the secret enrolment of members in prohibited areas, and to report to me any facts which come under their notice.

Salgótarján, July 9, 1920.

(Signed) Colonel PARNICZKY.

Z. 2282/1920

*From the Főszolgabíró of the Völgyszag district in the
Comitat of Tolná*

Ruling: I am unable to grant the petition presented by Frank Huth of Nagymányok and his companions, in which the members of the local union of Nagymányok, affiliated to the Hungarian Miners' Federation, express the desire to hold a meeting on June 5 at 3 p.m. in the Linderschen inn at Nagymányok, with agenda as announced. This refusal is based on Order No. 438/920 of the Government Commissioner of the *comitat*, which forbids trade union action.

I therefore prohibit the holding of the proposed meeting.

This decision is hereby communicated to Frank Huth of Nagymányok and his companions, who may within a fortnight appeal to the *Alispán* of the *comitat*. The communal council of Nagymányok is notified of this decision.

Bonyhád, May 28, 1920.

(Signed) Dr. HAGYMÁSSY.

Z. 4846/920

From the Főszolgabíró of the district of Salgótarján

The Budapest headquarters of the Federation of Hungarian Miners states that their local branches in Homokterény and Baglyásalja wish to resumé their activities, and for this purpose request permission to hold a constituent meeting.

Ruling: I am unable to grant the petition, and I forbid the holding of the constituent meeting contemplated for July 25 at 3 p.m. at Homokterény and Baglyásalja.

Reasons: I consider that the proposed meeting should be forbidden in the interests of the State and of the police.

(1) because of the hostile attitude of the workers towards the State,

(2) because of the secret organizations which are debating the Amsterdam resolution.

(3) because of the agitation among the miners, the tendency of which is to keep the proletarian consciousness awake and to lead to the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and

(4) because of the unpatriotic attitude of the workers on the occasion of the boycott directed against the economic life of the country.

It is further necessary to take into consideration the recent diminution in the coal output and the mental irritation and disturbance caused by the boycott. These circumstances fail to provide any possible reason for allowing the local unions to act.

I hereby communicate the foregoing decision to the central committee of the Federation of Hungarian Miners, in order that they may be able to appeal within a fortnight to the *Alispán* of the *comitat* of Nograd.

Salgótarján, July 24, 1920.

Z. 300/920

From the Főszolgabíró of the Pecsvárad district

Petition: of John Hartvich of Hidas and others concerning a proposed meeting of members of the Federation of Hungarian Miners living in Hidas, to be held on March 7.

Ruling: I am unable to grant the petition of John Hartvich of Hidas and others, in which the members of the Miners' Union living in Hidas ask permission to hold a meeting at Hidas on March 7 at 2 p.m. in the inn of John Letz, with the following agenda: election of the local committee: relief fund regulations; wages; food supplies.

Reasons: According to the petition presented by John Hartvich and others of Hidas, the members of the Hungarian Miners' Union living at Hidas wish to elect a committee at the proposed meeting and therefore wish to found the local branch of Hidas.

According to the agenda they further intend to discuss the regulation of the relief fund and the question of wages and food; they therefore intend that the local union shall become active.

The Hidas branch of the National Union of Hungarian Miners has not heretofore exercised its activities like other unions founded in accordance with legal requirements. It has not been recognized by the authorities.

According to the Order published by the Hungarian Government concerning the Right of Meeting and Association, No. 5089/1919 M.E., in respect of the foundation of new associations and new local branches, the prohibition established by Article 1 of the Order No. 5479/1914 again comes into force. Consequently, associations and local branches, which it is intended to found and which wish to benefit by the exceptional power of authorization accorded to the Minister of the Interior, must for this purpose present a petition to the Minister of the Interior, through the medium of the municipal magistrate, stating their motives and giving details. Until they have received the permission requested, they cannot resume their activities.

I am therefore unable to grant the petition for the foundation of the new branch and for the meeting which it is proposed to hold for the purpose of allowing the branch to resume its activities.

But, in any case, it would have been impossible for me to give favourable consideration to the petition on account of the following additional reason: at the present time I consider such meetings dangerous from the point of view of public order and of the restoration of social relations, and, further, the various items on the agenda are not described with the necessary precision.

I hereby communicate this decision to John Hartvich and others of Hidas, who may appeal within a fortnight to the *Alispán* of the *comitat*. The proposed meeting will naturally not take place, as it has not been authorized by the authorities.

I have communicated this decision to the communal authorities at Hidas.

Püspöknádasd, March 5, 1920.

Z. 607/920

*Military Coal Section, No. 2
To the Miners' Federation of Budapest.*

Salgótarján, May, 25, 1920.

In reply to your petition of the 21st instant, I hereby notify you that I cannot authorize the proposed general meeting to be held on the 30th instant at Baglyásalja and Homokterény, on account of the existing unpatriotic spirit among the miners and on account of the recent diminution in the coal output, which has been detrimental to the economic life of the country.

(Signed) PARNICZKY,
Lt.-Colonel,
Commander of the Section.

To the Miners of Budapest (Telegram)

The request for permission to hold a meeting at Baglyásalja and Homokterény on the 30th of this month cannot be granted on account of the spirit prevalent among the miners, which is the cause of a fall in the coal output, and secondly because Military Coal Section No. 2 refuses consent.

Főszolgabíró.

4403/926

From the Főszolgabíró of the Salgótarján district

Request : of the Federation of Hungarian Miners' Unions for permission to hold a general meeting on July 11 at

3 p.m. for the purpose of founding the local branch of Baglyásalja and Homokterény.

Ruling : The proposed meeting is prohibited.

Reasons : It would be contrary to State interests to authorize the proposed meeting, chiefly on account of the boycott against Hungary, the disturbed state of mind which it has aroused, and the anti-patriotic attitude of the workers ; also on account of the secret agitation which is being carried on in order to keep awake the consciousness of the proletariat, and finally because of Note 910/920 of the Military Coal Section. This decision will be communicated

- (1) to the Military Coal Section at Salgótarján,
- (2) to the Miners' Federation.

Appeal against this decision, etc.

Salgótarján, July 2, 1920.

Z. 1802/920

Office of the Magistrate of the Nagyhát district

Prohibition : of a general meeting of the Komlő and Szászvár branches of the Miners' Union.

Ruling : I am unable to grant the requests made by the Komlő and Szászvár local branches to hold a meeting on May 1 and 2.

By his Order of April 19, No. 1128/920 B.M. the Minister of the Interior has prohibited all meetings on May 1, as also all meetings which appear to be intended to celebrate May 1, and which might in consequence disturb public peace and order.

At the same time I beg to notify you that the Komlő and Szászvár local branches cannot resume their activities until they have altered their constitution and submitted their rules and the minutes relating to their constitution to the authorities. The constitution of the National Federation which

was approved under No. Z. 4756/VI 1918 B.M. does not give local branches the right to act until they have their own separate constitutions approved by the authorities and until they have been constituted in accordance with statutory regulations.

I communicate, etc.

No. 5637/920 ♦

From the Chief Magistrate of the Salgótarján district

The central committee of the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces requests permission to hold a meeting on August 9, at 3 p.m., in order to constitute its local branch at Homokterény.

Ruling : I am unable to give favourable consideration to the request and I forbid the meeting for the following reasons :

Reasons : In view of the hostile attitude of the miners towards the State, and more especially on account of their secret organization, and of the agitation carried on with the object of keeping awake the proletarian consciousness and later of restoring the dictatorship of the proletariat, further, on account of the unpatriotic behaviour of the working classes towards the economic needs of their own country on the occasion of the recent boycott, I rule that for reasons of State and public order the proposed meeting cannot at present be permitted. In State interests and in the interests of public order it is essential to render harmless movements or meetings, which are likely to obstruct the progress of production and imperil it. Mass processions of workers and meetings subject to the influence of certain irresponsible elements are very liable to lead to illegal acts; they degenerate into an agitation against public order, which may influence the workers and injure national property.

For these reasons, conscious as I am of my responsibility, I am unable under present conditions to permit the meeting.

I communicate my decision :

(1) to the Second Military Coal Commissariat, and

(2) to the central committee of the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces (Budapest, VI, Teréz Körút 22), adding that they may appeal against this decision within a fortnight of receipt of this communication to the *Alispán* of the *comitat* of Nográd, addressing their request to me.

Salgótarján, August 22, 1920.

(Signed) Dr. ZSADÁNYIS,
Chief Magistrate.

No. 3567/1920

*From the Chief Magistrate of the Völgység district
of the Tolna Comitat*

Ruling : I cannot grant the petition of Vende Csoka and Jules Batta, domiciled in Budapest, in which they inform me that, under Order No. 6622/1920 of the Royal Hungarian Ministry, the Nagymányok branch of the Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces is resuming its activities and will meet on September 12, at 3 p.m., in the Linde restaurant, in order to elect its committee.

Reasons : The aforesaid Order No. 6622/1920 of the Royal Hungarian Ministry relates to associations which are at present in operation and have a constitution, and not to meetings of associations which are suspended, such as that of Nagymányok ; as the Order does not authorize associations which are suspended to resume their activities, the meeting cannot be permitted.

This decision is communicated to the central secretariat of the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast

Furnaces (Budapest VI, Teréz Körnt 22), with a notification that they have the right to appeal within a fortnight of receipt of this communication to the *Alispán* of the *comitat* of Tolna.

Bonyhád, August 22, 1920.

(Signed) Dr. HAGYMÁSSY,
Chief Magistrate.

No. 3410/1920

Royal State Capitanat of the village of Salgótarján

Request: of the central committee of the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces concerning the resumption of activities of its Salgótarján branch and requesting permission to hold a constituent meeting on August 29, 1920.

Ruling: In virtue of Article 2 of Order No. 6622/920, I refuse the request of the central committee of the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces, in which they ask permission to hold a meeting of the local branch on August 29, 1920. at 10 a. m. in the hotel "Vadász", for the purpose of resuming its activities and electing the committee, and I prohibit the meeting.

Reasons: The local branch of the Federation began its activities on May 16. of the present year and elected its committee on that date: therefore, the only point on the agenda of the proposed meeting has already been settled. The police authorities consider that the committee of the local branch, which alone is competent to present a request for permission to hold a meeting, was constituted on that date, and they cannot permit persons not belonging to the local branch to hold new propaganda meetings without the knowledge of the officials of the local branch. The disastrous experience of the past proves amply that the organization in question has contributed largely to the extensive propa-

gation of destructive ideas, which resulted in the development of an anti-patriotic tendency among the working classes. Past experience proves that, in openly basing itself on Social Democratic ideas, the organization adopted the principle of internationalism, a principle which cannot be tolerated in view of the situation of the State and of society.

Past experience also teaches us that meetings, and the secret agitation which precedes or accompanies them, used to exercise an important influence on the minds of the workers and disposed them to dangerous outbursts and strikes.

In the interests of order and public safety and to prevent an interruption in the coal output, it was necessary to refuse the request and prohibit the holding of the meeting.

I communicate this decision to the central committee of the Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces and to Coal Commissariat No. 2, at the same time notifying them that an appeal may be made against this decision, under Article 2 of Order No. 6622/920, within a fortnight of its receipt, to the Captain-General commanding the Royal Hungarian Police for the region of Miskolc.

Salgótarján, August 23, 1920.

(Signature illegible)

Councillor of the State Police.

No. 5636/920

From the chief magistrate of the Salgótarján district

The central committee of the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces requests permission to hold a meeting on August 29, at 3 p.m., in order to constitute its local branch at Baglyásalja.

Ruling: I am unable to grant the request and I prohibit the holding of the meeting, for the following reasons.

Reasons: In view of the hostile attitude of the miners towards the State, and more especially on account of their

secret organization and of the agitation carried on with the object of keeping awake the proletarian consciousness and later of restoring the dictatorship of the proletarian: further, on account of the unpatriotic behaviour of the working classes towards the economic needs of their own country on the occasion of the recent boycott, I rule that, for reasons of State and public order, the proposed meeting cannot at present be permitted. In State interests and in the interests of public order it is essential to render harmless movements or meetings, which are likely to obstruct the progress of production and imperil it. Mass processions of workers and meetings subject to the influence of certain irresponsible elements are very liable to lead to illegal acts; they degenerate into an agitation against public order, which may influence the workers and injure national property.

For these reasons, conscious as I am of my responsibility, I am unable, under present conditions, to permit the meeting.

I communicate my decision :

(1) to the second Military Coal Commissariat, and

(2) to the central committee of the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces (Budapest VI, Teréz Körnt 22), adding that they may appeal against this decision, within a fortnight of receipt of this communication, to the *Alispán* of the *comitat* of Nograd, addressing their request to me.

Salgótarján, August 22, 1920.

(Signed) Dr. ZSADÁNYIS,
Chief Magistrate.

No. 2565/1920

From the chief magistrate of the Esztergom district

Communication : from the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces on the subject of starting the work of the local branch of Csolnok.

Ruling : I approve the request of the local branch of Csolnik to hold a meeting on September 5, at 3 p.m., for the purpose of electing the committee, with this modification, that the meeting must be held on September 5, at 6 p.m. I appoint Michael Prokkhel, magistrate, to represent the police authorities at the meeting.

At the same time I inform the organization that no speech may be made at this meeting nor any question broached which does not refer to the election of the committee; any breach of this rule will result in the dissolution of the meeting.

Esztergom, August 29, 1920.

(Signature illegible)
Chief Magistrate.

No. 2554/1920

From the chief magistrate of the Esztergom district

Communication : from the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces on the subject of starting the work of the local branch of Tokod.

Ruling : I duly note the communication from the National Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces, stating that the Tokod local branch of the Federation will hold a meeting on September 5, at 3 p.m., in the consultations office at Altaro, in order to elect the committee, and I appoint Michael Prokkhel, magistrate, to represent the police authorities at the meeting.

At the same time I warn the organization that no question may be discussed at the meeting authorized except the election of the committee: any breach of this rule will result in the dissolution of the meeting.

Esztergom, August 27, 1920.

(Signature illegible)
Chief magistrate.

No. 2553/1920

Communication : from the Federation of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces on the subject of the resumption of activities by the Sarisap branch.

Decision : I am unable to grant the request, inasmuch as the official appointed to attend the meetings which are to take place at Dorog and at Csolnok on the afternoon of September 5 cannot be at Sarisap on the same afternoon.

Another day must be fixed for the meeting. .

Esztergon, August 27, 1920.

(Signature illegible)

The Inquiry at Tatabánya

We went to Tatabánya on September 2, our attention having been drawn to this mining centre, one of the most important in Hungary, by stories of scenes of brutality and violence which had taken place there in May.

We had also read the following ruling:

Ruling : Meeting which is to take place on June 6, 1920, in the afternoon, at the Tatabánya People's Institute, with the following agenda :

1. Object and aims of the organization and statement regarding the subscriptions due to the Federation.
2. Nomination of additional members of the committee of the Union.
3. Trade union discipline.
4. Resolution and questions.

The meeting may be held on the following conditions :

1. It shall be the first and last meeting of the month.
2. The meeting must be held from 3 to 4 o'clock within doors.
3. The agenda shall be strictly adhered to.
4. No political speeches shall be made nor any speech which might rouse the workers. The orders of the authorities shall not be criticized.

5. The normal daily output must be maintained and the workers must work fearlessly and industriously.

Tatabánya, July 2, 1920.

(Signed) PUTSCH,
Lt.-Colonel.

We now reproduce the text of the report, prepared by the workers, concerning the scenes of violence mentioned above:

REPORT

This report was drawn up by the miners on July 15, in the hall of the Association of Workers in Mines and Blast Furnaces.

The following persons were present : Joseph Fodor, Paul Javorek, Joseph Reber, Etienne Tóth, miners ; they made the following statements :

Joseph Fodor, of Felsögalla, works in the coal mines of Tata. As president of the Tatabánya miners' union, and accompanied by Tóth Gyula, clerk of the union, he presented a petition to the local police on the subject of the celebration of May 1, on behalf of the miners of Tatabánya and Felsögalla. At the same time they informed Captain Huczkó, the Chief of police, that they had come to an agreement with the Government Coal Commissioner and that, if the workers were allowed to celebrate May 1, they were ready to work on Sunday, May 2, to make up for the day lost. The police forwarded the petition to the higher authorities at Székesfehérvár, who gave the following ruling: the meeting will be permitted, but only within doors, and there must be no procession. Owing to the large number of workers, it was quite impossible to hold the meeting within doors and, as this decision arrived at the last moment, it was impossible to make any other arrangements. It was decided not to hold a meeting: and, in order to avoid disturbances, the workers were instructed to remain at home on May 1, and to celebrate the day with the utmost calm. The workers replied that if they were

forbidden to celebrate May 1, they would not work on May 2. The notice authorizing the meeting stated also that no one must be in the hall before 10 or after 12 o'clock.

On May 2, Fodor was informed by a patrol of gendarmes and by the Commandant that all the workers' delegates must appear before the head of the Military Coal Commissariat, Lieutenant-Colonel Gustave Putsch. When they appeared before Lieutenant-Colonel Putsch, the building was surrounded by soldiers, the doors were shut, and the Lieutenant-Colonel declared that he would not enter into a discussion with them, but would give them his orders: Joseph Fodor and Jules Tóth must consider themselves hostages. The order was given in writing and Fodor and Tóth were compelled to sign it. The substance of the order was that the men must go back to work that same evening at 10 o'clock.

In order that these instructions might be carried out, all the shop stewards were set at liberty. They went from house to house and carried out the order. The workers, persuaded by the shop stewards, showed themselves ready to resume work; but between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon Jules Tóth and sixteen of his companions were arrested. Accordingly, the workmen, full of indignation, refused to resume work. On Monday, May 3, the workmen presented themselves punctually at the hour for beginning work, but said that they would not work until their seventeen comrades had been set free. At the request of their shop stewards, who undertook to arrange matters with the Lieutenant-Colonel, they went away declaring that they expected an answer by 2 o'clock. The shop stewards went to the Lieutenant-Colonel. In his absence they were received in the street by a captain, who said that the Lieutenant-Colonel was not there, but that he would telephone to him. He went inside the building, came out a few minutes later and said: "I have just spoken to the Lieutenant-Colonel; he says he will enter into no discussion with the delegates, that he has given his orders once for all; moreover, that the time has

come to break the workers. We can do it and we will break them." Besides the shop stewards, a crowd of forty or fifty people collected in the street heard this announcement.

The shop stewards noted this announcement, returned to their posts, and told the workers the result of what they had done. Before midday, Blazseck, the mines inspector, telephoned to Fodor and informed him that he had spoken to Mr. Rehling, manager of the mines; Mr. Rehling had said that in the course of the afternoon twelve of the men arrested would be at home again; he asked Fodor to tell this to the workers. In order to do so, Fodor telephoned to all the mines and reported what Mr. Blazseck had said. While he was telephoning, the communication was cut and Mr. Blazseck again telephoned to say that all seventeen men would be set free that afternoon. Fodor at once informed his men in order to quiet them and to prevent any interruption of work.

On May 3, in the afternoon, the shop stewards went to meet the train by which the seventeen men were to arrive; twelve arrived, and they, accompanied by Fodor and his comrades, made their way to the police station; there the twelve men were heard. The captain of police, Huezkò, was not there, but, on leaving the police station, they met him in the street; in reply to their questions he gave his word of honour as an officer that the other five men would be at their homes on the 4th in the afternoon. The shop stewards noted this and arranged with the workers that they should keep quiet and continue their work. On the 4th, however, the five men failed to arrive. On the afternoon of the 4th the workers accordingly wanted to stop work; but the shop stewards succeeded in persuading them to continue at work, by promising to take the matter to a higher authority. The workers instructed Joseph Fodor and Etienne Kappai to go to Budapest, in order to interview the competent authorities. Joseph Fodor, Etienne Kappai, and the secretary Jules Batta together approached the Military Coal Inspection Department and the Government Coal Com-

missariat. General Riedel told Fodor that, if the workers made it their business to increase the coal output, he would at once put right this matter of the five men. Further, he instructed Fodor to get into touch with his men and tell them that he had given instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Putsch to allow Fodor freedom of communication with his men. Fodor noted this and returned to Tatabánya. However, the Lieutenant-Colonel did not allow him to communicate with his men, that is, he forbade them to hold meetings. This was on the 6th at midday. At the same time he told him to make the men work. Fodor was unable to carry out this order, except in a few of the galleries, owing to want of time. As the workers had no more faith in promises and it was difficult to speak to them and influence them without holding a meeting, the output did not increase. On May 7, the Association was informed that the instructions of the General could not be carried out. The secretary of our Association, Jules Batta, went to General Riedel and asked him to allow the Association to send someone to restore order. The General gave permission, and gave Vendel Csóka, a member of the Association, a pass, authorizing him to take measures in agreement with the Lieutenant-Colonel to improve output, and guaranteeing him freedom of movement and freedom of intercourse with the workers. This was the afternoon of the 7th; Csóka went away and set to work at once. His efforts were successful, for on the 8th 258 trucks were despatched, and on Monday, the 10th, the output rose to 340 trucks. It is clear that the workers understood the situation and wanted to work; but they insisted on proper treatment. Order was thus restored at Tatabánya, but only for a certain time; below the surface trouble was brewing, as is proved by the following facts.

During the month of May the premises of the Tatabánya local miners' union may be said to have been closed almost every week, and it was only thanks to the steps taken by the secretariat of the Association that they were re-opened. Further, towards the middle of May, the gendarmes at the

mine repeatedly threatened Joseph Fodor, president of the Tatabánya local miners' union, with their bayonets. The secretary of our Association, Jules Batta, went with Joseph Fodor to Mr. Gottlob Rau, the Government Coal Commissioner, and asked him to intervene and put an end to this state of affairs. The Government Coal Commissioner and the Councillor, Mr. Béla Urbán, went together to General Louis Riedel and asked for protection for Joseph Fodor against the gendarmes at the mine. The General promised and gave instructions, which for some time secured peace; but only for a time; for below the surface there were other, more secret, movements, as is proved by the following part of our report.

On June 12, a sergeant of the gendarmerie appeared at Joseph Fodor's house, and told Fodor's wife that, as soon as her husband came home, he was to go at once, and alone, to see Captain Szalecsky. In the afternoon Fodor went to Captain Szalecsky, not alone but accompanied by Joseph Torok, a shop steward, who waited for him in the street while Fodor was in the office. Fodor went into the office, and to his great surprise found himself in the presence of Captain Tóth, who had left the mine some time before. This Captain Tóth had been removed from Tatabánya in consequence of his declarations on May 2 (see above), and the ensuing results. Captain Tóth made Fodor sit down, offered him cigarettes, and said that on the 13th someone was coming from Budapest to give a scientific lecture. This lecturer wanted to form a Central Party, which would get the country out of its troubles. He requested Fodor to ask his men to go to the meeting. Fodor replied that he could not do so, but he would go with some friends in a private capacity; as for the workers, he said, they must be notified in the ordinary way by the crier or by posters; for he could not intervene in such matters without previously consulting the central organizations of the party. In the course of the conversation, Captain Tóth kept on coming back to the statement that the National

Assembly had failed to carry out its programme, and that the workers and soldiers ought to unite in order to make a change. He asked Fodor, as a man who enjoyed the confidence of the workers, to speak to them on the subject and win them over to this new party; and he promised to reward him. Captain Tóth said that, if the workers and the soldiers united, a military dictatorship should be decreed, and then the workers could carry out "pogroms" without hindrance from the army or the gendarmerie. Fodor replied that he was not the man to undertake that kind of work, and pointed out that if things took the course suggested by the Captain it would mean the country's utter ruin. At that moment Captain Szalecsky came into the room, and said to Fodor: "It is you who will soon be ruined and the ground cut away from under you." Fodor said that all his life he had earned his bread by honest work, and hoped to go on doing so. Captain Tóth then whispered to him not to pay any attention to what Captain Szalecsky said. This conversation, during which many other questions were discussed, lasted from 4 o'clock to 7 o'clock, when Fodor left.

On June 15, Fodor, on returning from his work, found two workers waiting for him at his house, who said that four gentlemen, "well dressed", who had arrived by the evening train, had greeted them as "Comrades", and had shown them leaflets calling upon the workers to stop work. The two workers wanted to take a copy of the leaflets to show Fodor, but the gentlemen refused, saying that they would have plenty of time to read the leaflets tomorrow, for they would be distributed during the night. Some of Fodor's men went to look for the gentlemen, but were unable to find them. On the 16th Fodor wrote to headquarters telling them of these events. The secretary, Jules Batta, replied, telling him to have these persons arrested by the gendarmes.

On June 12, Vendel Csóka of the Association arrived; Fodor went to see him, and told him that the men had lost patience, because the negotiations about wages had gone

on so long, and had not yet reached a satisfactory result. The men had presented a petition demanding the regulation of their wages and the abolition of certain abuses. He said that in some mines men were being dismissed; in Mine 10 an injured child had been thrown from the cage by a foreman named Oszolj; the shop steward protested against this act of brutality, and Charles Hupka told the shop steward that he would be transferred to another mine. Fodor also narrated the incident of the leaflets and his conversation with Captain Tóth. After hearing all this, Csóka asked Fodor to calm the men and assure them that the negotiations would shortly take place. In Mine 6 the men were punished for not working on Sunday; the feeling among the workers rose so high that they declared that they would not go back to work on Monday, the 27th, if they found, when their wages were paid, that any deduction had been made for the Sunday. In Mine 7 the workers approached the shop steward Séber on June 18, in the reading-room, on the subject of the wage negotiations, which had not yet come to anything. They declared in very strong language that they would take matters in hand, and would compel the employers to negotiate.

On the 18th, Fodor went to see the manager, Mr. Rehling, in order to hurry up the negotiations. Mr. Rehling said he could do nothing and they must wait. Fodor repeated this conversation to the shop stewards, who in their turn went to see the manager on the 19th. Rehling gave them the same answer. "Let them wait! And if they don't want to wait, let them break their heads against the wall!"

On June 20, when irritation was general, the men discussed the wage reductions effected at the William Mine. Their irritation was so great that it was feared that work would stop in the morning. On hearing of this, Fodor collected all the shop stewards he could find, and managed to convince them that, even were the men to demand payment of the amounts deducted from their wages, they ought not to be allowed to down tools.

On June 21, the men presented themselves at the pits, but said they would not work unless negotiations were begun and the sums deducted from their wages paid to them. The shop stewards tried to make the men resume work; but in Mines 6, 7, and 10 the men downed tools. When they heard this, the others who had started downed tools too. On June 22, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Rehling sent for Fodor and informed him that on Tuesday, the 22nd, the representative of the Government Coal Commissariat, Mr. Viser, on behalf of the General Hungarian Coal Company (*Magyar Általános köszénbánya*), and Jules Batta, on behalf of the Miners' Association, would arrive to take part in the wage negotiations; but that this would depend on the men coming to work on Monday evening. Fodor asked the manager to have this announced by crier, so that the men might know; but the manager replied: "Let them return to their work in the same way as they left it." Fodor pointed out that things were very serious; for, when a meeting of the Christian Socialists was announced by crier, the President of the latter had made this statement: "The management has already rejected your petition." These words roused great indignation among the men. Fodor again requested the manager to use his influence with the Lieutenant-Colonel, so that the shop stewards might be allowed free intercourse with their men. The manager agreed, and they went to the Lieutenant-Colonel's office and made a report to Captain Marschó; he accepted it, but on leaving told them that nobody was allowed to be in the streets and that everybody must stay at home. In spite of this, the shop stewards tried to send round rapid instructions to their men to return to work on Tuesday morning.

In the evening at 7 o'clock the crier called out an announcement forbidding anyone to be in the streets or in the open. John Schwarcz, who was mending his bicycle in the garden in front of his house, was interrupted by a patrol of gendarmes. He went into the kitchen, but came

out again to pick up some pieces of his bicycle: then the gendarmes set on him with sticks; his wife who protested was also beaten. Shop steward Edward Hoffman, who was telling the men about returning to work in the vicinity of his own home, was beaten by the gendarmes, and so were the women and children with him. Towards 10 o'clock, shop stewards Joseph Séber, Etienne Tóth, and Paul Javorek went to see Fodor, and told him that they had not been able to carry out his instructions; it was impossible to go into the streets, as everybody was beaten. A few minutes later, twelve gendarmes appeared, who carried off Fodor and his three visitors. En route the gendarmes said: "You have fallen into good hands; we will see to all that." All four were taken to "Fortuna". There Fodor opened a door in the office; he was told to "come back"; but through the half-open door two civilians had been seen; the four men were put into the large hall until these civilians had left. Then Fodor was taken into the office, where were First Lieutenant Parniezky, Lieutenant Kiss, Lieutenant Karnócsky, Adjutant Tóth, Ensign Antoine Pusch, and two unknown individuals. Without uttering a word, the Ensign immediately cuffed Fodor on the ears twice: then Lieutenant Kiss asked him who had been at his lodging that afternoon. Fodor replied that he could not remember: he had had to deal with so many people that day. Saying that they would thrash him until they did find out, the officers began to cuff him, and, seizing him by the hair, they knocked his head against the wall. Then they thrust him out, and it was Paul Javorek's turn. The First Lieutenant asked him who was at Fodor's house: thereupon Javorek named his two companions. The First Lieutenant asked him if he knew two other persons: he said he did not. They fell on him and beat him. Meanwhile Lieutenant Karnócsky insisted on his telling them where 500 rifles were hidden. Knowing nothing about it, he could not give any information. Again they threw themselves on him, and beat him with their fists, with leather belts, and with sticks. When, in spite of

all this, he remained on his feet, Lieutenant Kiss began to kick him, wanting at all costs to knock him down; at last they were exhausted and sent him away. Again it was Fodor's turn: they beat him while they read out to him an article from the miners' paper *Bányamunkás*. They told him it was his fault that the Christian workers' union was not able to establish itself in the mines. Meantime, the First Lieutenant came in and said: "Are you here, you black-guard? I have been dying to thrash you for ever so long; I should have liked to have had you in my hands on May 1"; thereupon he threw himself on Fodor and cuffed him. While they were beating him, Fodor fell on the stove and knocked it over; they compelled him to lift it up and put it in its place again, thrashing him on the back meantime; one of the pipes injured the First Lieutenant in the face, and he drew his sword and struck Fodor with it. When the poor wretch fainted, they dashed water on his face, stretched out his arms, and Lieutenant Kiss began to drag him about in his arms until he got giddy. Lieutenant Kiss, levelled his revolver at him, and Lieutenant Karnócsky said: "Down with the dog." Lieutenant Kiss put the revolver close to his head, struck Fodor on the forehead with it, saying: "He doesn't even wriggle"; then went on striking Fodor on the breast with the revolver for a fairly long time: eventually Fodor was sent out.

Séber was then summoned and asked: "How many articles have you sent to foreign papers?" Lieutenant Kiss struck him on the mouth, and cuffed him violently about thirty times; then they called André Szücs, a corporal, and Lieutenant Kiss said: "Look, this is the man who hanged the curé." On hearing this, Szücs cuffed him twice and gave him such a blow on the nose that he fainted: they washed him and again cuffed him. The Lieutenant put two fingers in his mouth and pulled at the corners: the First Lieutenant struck him on the arm with his sword, and at the same time Kiss kicked him in the stomach. As he was wiping his nose, which was bleeding as a result of this

violent treatment, his handkerchief was snatched from him, a hussar's cloak thrown over his head, and he was beaten until he lost consciousness. Then they washed him and threw him out. As he could not get downstairs fast enough, they prodded him with bayonets. Then came Etienne Tóth; when he went in, two men threw themselves on him, and saying: "It's that Tóth," they began to strike and cuff him, while Lieutenant Karnóczky went on thrashing him. In the middle of this scene of violence, someone cursed and said: "They all keep their feet." Then three of them threw themselves on him until he lost consciousness. They washed him, and again began to beat, cuff, and thrash him; at last he fainted again. He was thrown out, and as he could not get down the stairs fast enough and could only drag himself along, they prodded him with bayonets and beat him with sticks; when he was out of reach of the stick, they hurried him up with the butt-end of a rifle. Again it was Fodor's turn. When he went in, Lieutenant Kiss showed him a walnut-wood stick, and asked: "What is this?" Getting no reply, he cuffed him. Then he said: "It is a stick. What is it for?" More blows and the reply: "To hit you with." Then the Adjutant seized Fodor's face, pressed it against the bench, seized him by the leg from behind, and, while he held Fodor's face down, struck him from behind. The first three men each gave him six blows, the First Lieutenant up to about twenty-five; then Fodor ceased to count because he had fainted. When they let go his head, he heard the Lieutenant saying: "In God's name, don't thrash him any more, or you'll do for him." Then they let him go, and Lieutenant Kiss said: "You're a fine lad. You've managed to get through it." They cuffed him again twice, and when he was outside chained his hands, legs, and knees. Then it was Javorek's turn: when he went in, he was beaten again, and Lieutenant Karnóczky again asked about the 500 rifles; as he had nothing to say about them, they thrust him down on the bench, while Lieutenant Kiss struck him with a stick

and the First Lieutenant with a leather belt; each blow was a double one; at the twenty-fifth the First Lieutenant said: "He can stand some more," and dealt him a few more blows. They released him, and began to cuff him again; as, in spite of everything, he could not say anything about the rifles, they seized him again and gave him another twenty lashes, followed by kicks; finally a corporal came in who was told to strike him. Lieutenant Karnóczy threatened to throw hand-grenades in his face. The First Lieutenant said they ought to tie him up and throw him out of the window, and added: "If we beat you to death, you dog, I shall only get a fortnight's confinement to barracks; I will throw you into the moat, and the water shall carry you away." Finally, he cuffed him.

Towards midnight, Fodor was confronted with two men who were brought in; as Fodor could not reply, they cuffed him twice and struck him on the head with a leather belt. An hour and a half afterwards, they unchained his legs, but still left his hands chained.

When Joseph Novak, who had gone to Budapest from the 19th to the 20th on private business, got out of the train, he was questioned by an officer. As justification for his journey he showed the letter from Pest and, while the First Lieutenant was reading it, another person behind him read it also; noticing this, Novak remarked: "I see, comrade, that the letter interests you too." At these words, the First Lieutenant put down the letter and said: "Oh, you are also a comrade!" and he was also terribly beaten: he received seven blows with a stick. George Laufer, Pöcze, and Pejő, and three others unknown to us were also beaten. The accordion was played the whole time, and the bare-footed platoon sang, so as to drown the sound of their cries.

On Tuesday, the 23rd, they were summoned and told that Fodor and Javoreck were going to be taken away in chains. Lieutenant Kiss planted himself in front of them and said: "Do you know where you are going?" "No." "Down there where the Danube is near!" Some hitch occurred; they were

taken back and were not moved that day. On the 24th, detectives came, who wanted to compel them to acknowledge that the movement had been started on instructions from the Association and the Party. As they refused to admit this, the detectives questioned them in the roughest possible tone, and threatened to strike Fodor. The latter thereupon showed them his body covered with bruises; the detectives roughly replied: "You fell down in the mine." On the 25th they were taken to Komárom and kept there without a hearing until July 10, when they were set free.

LOCAL INQUIRY

The Mission went to Tatabánya accompanied by Count CsÁKY, Liaison Officer between the Government and the Mission of the International Labour Office, by the General Secretary of the Federation of Hungarian Miners (Social Democrat), by a representative of the Christian Social trade unions, by the Managing Director of the Mine Owners' Association, by a mine manager of Tatabánya, and by an officer representing General Riedel, the Military Coal Inspector.

Interview with the members of the Miners' Union affiliated to the National Federation

We began by hearing the statements of members of the Hungarian Miners' Union affiliated to the Central Federation of Trade Unions, in the presence of the persons named above, the General Secretary having assured us that the workers would speak freely.

From 250 to 300 miners were present; the General Secretary of the Miners' Federation translated from Hungarian into German. The Hungarian Miners' Union has two branches in the district, each comprising about 3,600 workers. We asked the following questions:

Q. — Can you meet freely, as you wish?

A. — Since the new Order which compels all meetings to be notified to the police three days in advance, we must admit that meetings are not forbidden, whereas previously they were almost always prohibited by the police. From this point of view, the Order is an improvement. We must also add that the local Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Putsch, is an impartial man, who allows meetings. These meetings actually depend greatly on the

commanding officers, who have very extensive powers. The police often intervene in the discussions, and forbid speakers to continue. Even before the Order we were compelled to notify the police of our meetings. Now, policemen and gendarmes are always present, even at very small meetings. It is very difficult and often impossible to discuss our private affairs in the presence of the police. The last committee of our Union, took place three weeks ago, that is, before the Order. Since the Order was issued there has been only a meeting of the Metal Workers' Union. Joint meetings of several unions are absolutely forbidden by the police; we do not know exactly why, but it may be that the police are afraid that outsiders might be present. The police often intervene in the discussions, and prevent all criticism of the coal company. The President of the Masons' Union was recently compelled to resign on pain of internment. Another President was elected, and he, upon asking for a wage alteration which had in fact been granted, was dismissed by the Company.

The shop stewards are also obliged to notify the police of their meetings. The shop stewards are recognized by the company, but not by the contractors. The shop stewards cannot meet to discuss wage increases, for discussion on this point is absolutely forbidden. The only way is to come to an agreement in advance as to the wage to be asked, and then present a memorandum to the management; a meeting can then be held to discuss the memorandum. After the last strike, which in any case, was organized by workers not of our Union and not natives of the district, all the shop stewards were more or less interned; they were forbidden to write to, or communicate with, their families: the object of this was to compel them to cease being shop stewards. Such pressure, exercised by the police on the shop stewards, is fairly frequent.

Q. — Have Communists been numerous here?

A. — We emphatically declare that we are not Communists, but Socialists; and that our programme is based on the classic theories of Social Democracy.

Q. — What can you tell us as to the freedom of your trade?

A. — We know that miners may not leave their trade.

Q. — Have cases occurred when miners asked permission to leave the mine, either to take up other employment, or temporarily for family reasons?

A. — Many workers come from the country; cases frequently occur of the refusal of temporary permits to miners who wish to go home on account of a death in their family. If miners must leave the mine, they often go without asking permission: they are then often arrested and brought back to the mine by the gendarmes. We must here point out that, while the worker is not allowed to leave the mine, the company may dismiss him at any moment without even giving a reason. According to the Act declaring the mines to be munition works, miners who leave the mine without permission are liable to a fine of 200 to 400 crowns and to imprisonment for two to four months. Further, the management of the mine may deprive the miners of all the advantages of the company's food-supply arrangements. The police often made inquiries as to the miners' political party, and tried to exercise pressure to make them join the Christian Social unions.

Népszava (the official organ of the Social Democratic Party) comes freely, and the workers are allowed to subscribe freely. At the time of the elections, we were able to hold as many meetings here as we wanted; this could not be done in the chief town of the district. Branches of the trade unions are able to work freely. The Union is recognized by the management, and it took part in the negotiations about piece-work. But the workers say that they are not satisfied with the present piece-rates, for they are fixed by the management and there is no free negotiation.

Q. — Is there anyone present at this meeting who signed the report about what happened in May?

A. — Yes, I did.

The workers told us that matters had improved considerably since May, chiefly owing to the intervention of General Riedel, who cleared away difficulties, and of whom the workers spoke very highly to us on several occasions.

Interview with the Christian Social Unions

The Christian Socialists have four branches, for miners, metal workers, wood workers, and cement workers. They say they have 600 members, the majority being miners.

Q. — Why did you form your Union?

A. — Because we do not want to be deceived by the Social Democrats, who always pursue a political policy, and because we do not want to collaborate with the Communists.

A little later the Christian Socialists told us that they would be willing to work with the Social Democrats, but that the latter refused to collaborate. The fundamental difference in their economic programme appears to be that the Social Democrats aim at increasing wages, while the Christian Socialists would prefer to see prices fall, which would bring greater benefits to the workers. They said they were subject to the same restrictions as the Social Democrats, as far as the freedom of their meetings was concerned. They also stated that a month previously the police had forbidden the general meeting which was to have taken place. In April last, they presented a memorandum to the management of the company; this memorandum, *inter alia*, demanded a reduction of 33 % on the price of the provisions supplied by the Company, and also a share in the profits for the workers. They complained that the management had not replied to this memorandum, and said they thought this was due to the fact that the members of the management were Jews and supported the Social Democrat Unions.

Q. — Why are you anti-Jewish?

A. — We cannot but be anti-Jewish, for in Hungary 90 % of the industrial capital is in the hands of Jews, and one cannot be against capital without being against Jews. We have only 600 Christians organized in our Unions as against 7,000 Socialists; yet at the elections the appeal on behalf of the Christian candidate had 3,600 signatures;

this proves that many people are in sympathy with us, but dare not show it openly, because of the terrorist methods of the 7,000 Socialists.

Q. — What do they do to you ?

A. — They prevent us from meeting, insult us, often interrupt our meetings, and note the names of those who go to mass. They call us "the Christian Spider."

Q. — We have been told that you welcome Communists among your members ?

A. — We deny that accusation, and declare that there has been only one such case, a person called Tombola, who was expelled as soon as it was known that he was a Communist.

Q. — What do you think of the declaration of the mines as munition works ?

A. — The system is necessary in State interests : otherwise, the workers would practise sabotage. We do not think that there has ever been a case where permission to leave work has been refused ; but the workers often leave ostensibly for family reasons, when they are really going into the woods to collect food-stuffs which they sell secretly.

Interview with the employers

The conversation was in German. A mine manager told us :

There have never been any real Communists among our workers. During the Communist régime one case occurred of an engineer who was arrested by the Communists, but he was set at liberty soon after. At first the miners joined the Communists, but in a very short time they became the greatest opponents of the Communist régime.

I can say absolutely nothing about the annoyances of which the Christian Socialists complain. No such incidents are known to me. I must also point out that the memorandum in question was presented in the name of the Christian

Social Party, and not of the trade union ; we cannot deal with political parties. However, we did negotiate with the Social Democrats, and later with the Christian Socialists also.

I cannot say that the miners now leave the mine without permission. They did so fairly frequently at the time when the Order was published, in April and May ; but that has now stopped. The output of the workers is about 92 % of the pre-war output. The miners work eight hours a day, and their average output is from 38 to 40 quintals. Before the war the average was 45 quintals. The output of the mine is almost 340 trucks per day. It was much more during the war, and it could be much more now, but we should need another 500 or 600 skilled workers. In the mine there are three shifts of eight hours each. Conditions in our mine are favourable enough, for the coal seam is very thick, so that the miner can work standing. Our skilled workers are paid 58 crowns a day ; in addition they receive food, boots, and clothing at reduced prices. The difference between the market price of the provisions which we supply to the miners and the prices which we charge represents a wage-increase of 95 crowns a day.

As for the memorandum about the strike last June, which you showed me, I can only tell you that I have heard of the bad treatment which the persons mentioned in the report are alleged to have undergone ; but I am not certain of the truth of the statements made : the men I saw shortly after their coming out of prison did not bear any exterior marks of bad treatment.

It is very difficult for me to reply to your question asking if it is necessary to declare the mines military munition works. From the management point of view it has great disadvantages ; we have to deal with two authorities, one civil and one military, and they often give contradictory orders. The workers think things would probably be much quieter if the mines were not declared military works.

As I have already said, there were no Communists here.

After the Bolshevik period, 80 arrests were made; but I think most of the persons arrested have been set free, except a few who had murdered the village priest. As a matter of fact, the workers have never done anything to make repressive measures necessary. It is possible that there is still a section among them with a tendency to Communism. At the time when the Russian "Red" Army was approaching our frontier, we noticed that the workers became a little ruder to us; but there was never any trouble. In this district I am sure that there will never be any more trouble: foreign influences, however, might possibly cause another outbreak of Communism. I must also state that neither the police nor the military authorities have ever exercised any pressure on me in order to ascertain the political opinions of my workers. Finally, I must confirm the statement that, after the Bolshevik period, some of the most zealous Communists founded Christian Social branch unions. However, I think these workers were afterwards expelled from the Christian Social unions.

Another employer told us :

Undoubtedly the Christian Unions are of practically no importance at all here. I do not think that they have even the 600 members they talk of. But I do not mean to imply that they are useless; they exercise in our discussions a certain restraining influence which is very salutary: the mere fact of their existence compels the Socialists to reflect before presenting demands, and from this point of view they do good work. But they are still very new and badly organized. They have been obliged to accept as members persons who had been notorious Communists. At first they did so in all good faith; then the fact was pointed out to them: still they retained these members, stating that they could not do otherwise, as they needed speakers. It is not true that the military régime is one-sided, and weighs heavily on the workers only. We are subject to the same

rules in dismissing workers as they are in regard to leaving their work. In practice they are not compelled to work against their will.

Interview with the captain attached to the Coal Commissariat

We were unable to see Lieutenant-Colonel Putsch, the local Coal Commissioner, because he was on leave at the time of our visit.

At Salgótarján also the Military Coal Commissioner had had to go on leave for urgent reasons at the time of our visit. But at Tatabánya we saw his deputy, with whom we had the following conversation:

- Q. — What is the practice of the Military Commandant of the Coal Commissariat in regard to meetings?
- A. — We only authorize meetings held to discuss industrial questions, and we strictly prohibit all political meetings, whatever the party with which they are connected; for our wish is to prevent disturbances.
- Q. — May the speakers touch on a political question in discussing industrial topics?
- A. — Yes, they may discuss politics at their meetings; but if inflammatory interruptions occur, that is, interruptions by Communists, the meeting is at once suspended.
- Q. — Has your permission been asked to hold meetings on political subjects?
- A. — No, not up to the present.
- Q. — Do you make any distinction between the parties in regard to meetings?
- A. — No, none; we are very impartial; of course we look upon the trade unions as industrial associations.
- Q. — Do conflicts arise between the civil and the military authorities?
- A. — No, only the police are entitled to authorize meetings. The military authority supervises them. The Colonel or the Captain is present at these meetings. The police are represented by a superintendent of police. In addition, a patrol is posted in the vicinity to prevent trouble in case of necessity.

Q. — Is there ever any disagreement between the police and the military authorities ?

A. — No, not up to the present : besides, the gendarmerie is under the direct control of the civil authorities.

Q. — Did the workers complain of violent treatment during May ?

A. — I do not remember. In any case such acts of violence have not been judicially proved ; I was on leave during April and until the end of May.

Q. — How is the joint supervision of meetings by the police and the military authorities arranged ?

A. — The power of dissolving meetings lies with the police : the superintendent of police, or his deputy, attends meetings.

Q. — Are you not of opinion that at these meetings, particularly at small committee meetings, the presence of a police officer may embarrass those who are taking part in the meeting ?

A. — No, I have not had that impression.

Q. — Were not some workers arrested on one occasion, because they had held a meeting without notifying the police ?

A. — All meetings were prohibited during the strikes. One day some workers were discovered meeting behind closed doors with a view to spurring on the strikers ; they were at once arrested.

Q. — What do you think of the miners' output ?

A. — It might be increased : but I must own that it is normal.

Inquiry at Salgótarján

We went to Salgótarján on September 7, accompanied by Count Csáky, representing the Government, an officer representing General Riedel, Military Coal Inspector, a representative of the Christian Socialist trade unions, the General Secretary of the Federation of Hungarian Miners, the Secretary of the Federation of Metal Workers in the same organization, a representative of the mining companies, and an official interpreter from the Inter-Allied Danube Commission.

Interview with the Civil and Military Authorities

We first had an interview with the following civil and military authorities :

Dr. Guido SZANADAYI, Honorary *Főszolgabíró*, representing the political authorities :

Mr. Kálmán BELICZKY, Police Commandant, representing the Police ;

Mr. István SCHWEITZER, Lieutenant of Gendarmerie ;

Captain Tivadar ADLEFF, representing the Military Coal Commission ;

Lieutenant Arthur SZABÓ, principal aide-de-camp to Mr. Adleff.

The interview took place in Hungarian, and the interpreter translated into French. We asked the following questions :

Q. — How are the police powers distributed in your district ?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi, Főszolgabíró* : The *Főszolgabíró* has police authority over the district in so far as meetings are concerned. In the case of Salgótarján itself, however, this power is exercised by the Police Commandant. The *Főszolgabíró* receives instructions from the Ministry of the Interior and may give orders to the police. In the mines, questions of discipline are settled by the Coal Commission. Only the head of the Commission and his deputy are officers. The military authorities as such have no competence in these matters. It is the function of the police to keep order, but there are also troops who can be called upon in case of need. In that case it would be the Military Coal Commissioner who would take the responsibility of using them to intervene in the mines.

Q. — Do disputes ever arise between these different authorities on questions of competence ?

A. — There have never been any disputes. If they did arise, they would be settled by the Minister of the Interior. The respective spheres of competence are strictly limited. The military authorities do not take action unless they are requested to do so.

Q. — What is the state of mind of the miners in this district ?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi* : Their state of mind is unsatisfactory. Unrest is kept alive among them by means of pamphlets of Czecho-Slovakian origin. The tone of these pamphlets

is more extreme than during the dictatorship of the proletariat. The neighbouring frontier is, of course, under police control, but workmen come from Czecho-Slovakia to work here, and vice versa.

Q. — Where are these pamphlets believed to come from?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi*: They originate with the Communists who have fled to Vienna. They are not signed, but have the heading "Hungarian Communist Party". A newspaper containing an article by Béla Kún was also seized. The pamphlet and newspaper were confiscated a week ago.

Q. — Is this state of mind also prevalent in the trade union?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi*: It has not been possible to find out what the state of mind of the trade union is, but we believe that it has sympathies with Bolshevism. This was the case especially when the Russian Red Army was advancing. Besides, they do not disapprove of the boycott. The trade union has not shown sympathy with the Russian Bolsheviks in an official capacity, but its members do so individually. The workers have no confidence whatever in the authorities...

Q. — Do you know if these individuals were actually members of the trade union?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi*: I do not know.

— *Mr. Beliczky, Police Commandant*: There is a Decree in force which orders all Communist pamphlets to be given up to the authorities. In spite of this, piles of Communist pamphlets were found a month ago on the premises of the Metal Workers Union.

Q. — In what circumstances?

A. — *Mr. Beliczky*: This discovery was made by a representative of the authorities, who was present at a meeting. He noticed some locked cupboards and it occurred to him to find out what was inside them. Nobody was arrested, but the pamphlets were confiscated. This must be regarded as a proof of Communist agitation, or in any case of Communist sympathies.

Q. — Who were the authors of these pamphlets?

A. — *Mr. Beliczky*: Weltner, Varga, Bucharin, and Buchinger.

— *Mr. Schweitzer, Lieutenant of Gendarmerie*: Here is another proof of the state of mind of the workers. At a meeting which was held in an inn in June, most of the speakers expressed Christian and nationalist sentiments, but one workman shouted “Long live Béla Kún.” The *Internationale* was sung in a café in April. Cases of this kind are numerous.

— *Mr. Beliczky*: We have no means of supervising the activities of the trade union and of saying whether they are Communist or not. Whatever they do, they do in secret, and the authorities cannot find it out. The shop stewards hold meetings within the unions and discuss political questions. We cannot know what they say, as we have no representatives present; but we regard all the facts we have mentioned as proofs of Communist agitation.

— *Mr. Schweitzer*: Whenever a workman has been drinking he clearly shows his Communist sympathies.

— *Dr. Szanadayi*: Everything which tends to upset the existing order is received sympathetically by the workmen. The boycott...

Q. — But the boycott is not Communist in origin. It originated with the Amsterdam International, which the Bolsheviks so strongly oppose.

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi*: The workmen here consider the boycott as originating with Béla Kún.

— *Mr. Beliczky*: In this town we fail to see any signs of the moderate views of the Social Democratic unions. Thus Charles Payer came in May and made a Communist speech.

Q. — Do you mean the ex-Minister?

A. — *Mr. Beliczky*: Yes.

Q. — Do you not know that the employers are unanimous in his praise and say that, on the contrary, he prevented

disturbances and rendered very great services during the Communist period ?

General Reply : We did not know. He may have done great services, but he was a secret Communist.

Q. — Is it allowable to set up trade union branches in the mining district ?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi* : Unions, whose constitutions have been approved, can set up branches in this town or in its suburbs without any difficulty. In practice, the right of association is interpreted in a very wide sense ; but there must be no attack on the State. We are in a transition period. As soon as conditions are normal, we shall be even more generous in giving permission to hold meetings.

Q. — Have you ever refused permission to hold a meeting ?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi* : I received three requests in two months. In two cases I refused permission to hold the meeting ; at one it had been proposed to form new branches in the mines and blast furnaces, at the other to form a metal workers' branch.

— *Mr. Beliczky, Police Commandant* : There were local branches in existence already, and the agenda said that new ones were to be established.

— *Dr. Szanadayi* : In Salgótarján these requests for meetings were made about once a week and permission was nearly always given. Lately, however, we have had to refuse permission owing to political circumstances (the advance of the "Red" Army). In any case we cannot supervise the meetings held by the shop stewards, which generally take place in secret and of which we receive no notice. In my opinion the Order concerning meetings also applies to shop stewards' meetings. It is my opinion that the workmen succeed in holding secret meetings in the mines or in the forests.

— *Mr. Beliczky, Police Commandant* : This is proved by this piece of paper which I will show you. We found it

nailed to a tree near the mines. It tells the workers, in terms intended to be understood by them, that they are all to leave the mines at a stated time. This proves that the workmen have secret means of communicating with one another, of which we know nothing. After two hours they resumed work: this shows how well organized they are.

Q. — Do you send a report to the Ministry of the Interior stating what meetings have been allowed or forbidden?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi*: I am under no obligation to do so. We have received no instructions on the point. The Decrees include some instructions, but we have not received any confidential circular.

At this point Mr. Pardo handed the following notice to the civil and military authorities.

*Military Coal Department. No. 2, Salgótarján
Official Notice*

Salgótarján, July 9, 1920.

I forbid all activity on the part of the local branch of the Miner's Union of Salgótarján within the area of other communes.

It will be the duty of the Police to keep watch in order to prevent the secret enrolment of members in prohibited areas, and to report to me any facts which come under their notice.

(Signed) Colonel PARNICZKY.

Some confused discussion then followed.

One of the authorities: This is not a prohibition, but a warning to prevent meetings in the forests.

Mr. William Martin: But it's an order and not a notice. It's not a reply, but a prohibition.

Mr. Schweitzer, Lieutenant of Gendarmerie: The police are instructed to prevent all unauthorized meetings.

Q. — But why were the military authorities applied to?

A. — *Mr. Schweitzer*: The people who wanted to hold this

meeting applied to the military authorities, because they thought they were not so strict. The military authorities refused.

(At this point one of the officers left the room to bring the text of this notice. He returned without it.)

Several officials: In the absence of the Colonel who signed the Order, we can only give you guesses. We did not keep a record of this document, because we did not think it was very important. If we had known it was so, we should have done so.

Mr. Beliczky, Police Commandant: They were not allowed to hold a meeting to found a branch, because there was a branch already. In principle, however, meetings are allowed.

Q. — Are your representatives present at the meetings of the Committee?

A. — *Mr. Schweitzer, Lieutenant of Gendarmerie*: Since the Order was published, notice has only been given of one meeting. At this meeting a representative of the police was present.

Dr. Szanadayi, : We make no sort of difference between the different unions, but we say that a local branch cannot hold a meeting in another commune.

Mr. Adleff: We know that meetings are held secretly in clearings of the woods or in the galleries of the mines.

At this point Mr. Pardo handed the following note to the military authorities:¹

¹ The text of the Petition was as follows:

PETITION FOR PERMISSION TO HOLD A MEETING AND REPLY FROM THE AUTHORITIES

With reference to the Orders of the President of the Council, numbered 5084/1919 of September 30, 1919, and 6335/1919 of December 4, 1919, we have the honour to inform you that the Homoktérny Branch of the Federation of Homoktérny Mine and Blast-Furnace Workers is about to start work.

We request the Military Inspection authorities to give us permission to hold a meeting on May 30, 1920, at 10 a. m., on the premises of the Spitzer Restaurant, in order to elect the executive committee of the Branch. We request that a reply may be sent to the Central Secretariat of our Union (Budapest VI, Terež Körnt 32).

We have simultaneously presented an identical petition to the head magistrate of the Salgótarján district. We are again repeating our petition to you, because we only received today, May 21, permission to hold the meeting which we had notified for May 16.

Yours, etc.

Budapest, May 21, 1920.

(Signed) VENDEL CZÖKA, Chairman.
GYULA BATTÁ, Secretary.

Military Coal Commission No. 2, No. 607/szk, 1920

To the Union of Mine and Blast Furnace Workers,
Budapest.

Salgótarján, May 26, 1920.

In reply to your petition of the 21st inst., I have to inform you that I am unable to give permission for the proposed meetings at Baglyásalja and Homoktérénny, in view of the fact that the state of mind of the workers in certain works is hostile to State interests, and that a decrease in production would injure the economic life of the country.

(Signed) PARNICZKY,
Lieut.-Colonel.

The document handed over by Mr. Pardo was in German, and the civil and military authorities stated that there must be some inaccuracy in the translation from Hungarian into German.

The trade union representative again applied to the Colonel in support of a petition, because of the extensive powers enjoyed by the military authorities.

Dr. Szanadayi: I can give no opinion until I see the original text. We must have the original text, for there are shades of meaning, which are altered in translation.

We were not able to have this document translated straight from Hungarian into French until after the conclusion of our inquiry in Salgótarján.

Mr. Pardo then handed the following document to Dr. Szanadayi:

From the Főszolgabíró of the Salgótarján District

The Budapest Central Office of the Hungarian Miners' Federation gives notice that its local branches at Homoktérénny and Baglyásalja wish to resume work and therefore ask permission to hold a constituent meeting.

Ruling: I am unable to consider this request, and I prohibit the constituent meeting proposed for July 25 at 3 p. m. at Homoktérénny and Baglyásalja.

Reasons: I am of opinion that the proposed meeting should be prohibited in the interests of the State and of the

police authorities, on account of the workers' hostile attitude towards the State, on account of the existence of secret organizations connected with the Amsterdam resolution, and of the agitation carried on by the miners in order to maintain the class consciousness of the proletariat and, later to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, finally, on account of the unpatriotic attitude of the workers towards the boycott which was intended to injure the economic life of their country. It is further necessary to take into consideration the diminution in coal output which has lately become apparent, also the public excitement which the boycott has aroused. In these circumstances no possible justification can be quoted in favour of the work of the local branches.

I communicate the above information to the Central Office of the Hungarian Miners' Union, so that they may appeal within a fortnight to the *Alispán* of the *comitat* of Nográd.

Salgótarján, July 24, 1920.

Dr. Szanadayi: The boycott is considered to be an effect of Communist propaganda. It was owing to this agitation that I was unable to permit the meeting. The production of coal is vitally important to the country, and we look on strikes as unpatriotic acts. There was a four days' strike in February, and partial strikes later; there was a partial stoppage of work on August 5. The miners stated, in an ultimatum, that if their demands were not granted within twenty-four hours they would cease work. This strike soon collapsed; moderate elements gained the upper hand, as the claims were exaggerated.

Q. — Have any strikers been arrested?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi:* We do not arrest men for taking part in strikes, but only for acts of violence or for agitation. We made some arrests in February, but soon released the men. They were arrested because the strike was a serious one and was consequently unpatriotic in

character. Workers who were arrested were afterwards released. Their release was due to the action of the military authorities. The Coal Commissioner intervened several times in favour of the workers. He went to Budapest four times for this purpose.

Q. — What is your estimate of the number of miners of this district who are still interned ?

A. — *Dr. Szanadayi*: About forty.

Mr. Pardo then asked some more questions about the prohibition of meetings.

Dr. Szanadayi: The object of these meetings was to carry on Communist propaganda. This is much easier than at Tatabánya, because the Czecho-Slovak frontier is so near.

Interview with Members of the Miners' Union belonging to the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions

We then had an interview with about one hundred miners and metal workers. The only other person present was the officer representing the Military Coal Inspector, General Riedel, who attended at the request of the General Secretary of the Federation of Hungarian Miners. The conversation took place in Hungarian and was translated straight into French.

Q. — Was any Communist propaganda carried on when the Russian Army was advancing ?

A. — (*From all present*): No.

Q. — What Communist pamphlets have been circulated recently ?

A. — There are a few Communist pamphlets, which come from Czecho-Slovakia, but the Government has confiscated them ; generally speaking, no Communist pamphlets are distributed here.

Q. — What were the pamphlets seized on the premises of the Metal Workers' Union ?

A. — There were some pamphlets, which were sent for in 1917 and sold at that time. There were about 15 or 16 left in the Union offices. When the Chairman was arrested, the authorities saw these pamphlets, but did

not confiscate them. So of course it was quite easy for them to put their hands on them again. They were Socialist pamphlets printed in 1917 and stamped as having passed the censor at that time. They were written by Socialist authors, Weltner, Varga, and so on. Bucharin's pamphlet was the only one written by a Communist.

Q. — Was there not a Decree ordering the surrender of all such pamphlets to the authorities ?

A. — That Decree was never carried out to the letter, because it would have meant going through all the libraries. This explains why the pamphlets were seized by the authorities when they visited the office. We must add that the works of Marx are regarded as Communist literature.

Q. — Does not the Communist propaganda mentioned to us by the authorities originate in Czecho-Slovakia ?

A. — There is no Communist propaganda. The workmen who come from Liptó are not concerned with any such thing. The workmen from X... do not carry on propaganda either.

Q. — What was the strike which occurred in February ?

A. — There was no strike. A petition was presented about the arrests which had been made after the elections. People who had been connected with the Socialist candidate were arrested. The petition went on to put some industrial demands, and ended by threatening a strike if the demands were not accepted. About 80 fresh arrests were made after the petition had been presented ; two galleries then downed tools. This was followed by a fresh crop of arrests, about 110 in all ; some of the men have not yet been released (12 miners and metal workers).

Q. — Do you know whether the local Military Coal Commission took steps to have the arrested persons released ?

A. — Yes, we know that was the case.

Q. — Who drew up the petition ?

A. — It was drawn up by several persons and handed in when the shifts were changed. It is not signed, for fear

of arrests, but it concludes ‘in the name of the workers’ meeting.’”

Q. — Why did you come to address the military authorities for permission to hold meetings?

A. — There was some uncertainty about who was the competent authority. The military authorities claimed that they were competent. We therefore sent in two petitions, one to the civil, and one to the military authorities. The position here is not always very clear. The Lieutenant-Colonel has sometimes allowed us to hold meetings, but the civil authorities will not do so. It is easier to negotiate with the military authorities, because their administrative methods are more rapid.

Q. — Did not you ask, on behalf of a branch at Salgótarján. permission to hold a meeting outside the district?

A. — No, the ruling to which you refer was intended to prevent the secret enlistment of members.

Q. — Why did you want to form a new branch, when there was one already?

A. — The general secretariat thought the existing branch too inactive; so they wanted to form a new one. Up till now the union representatives have been prevented from coming here. Troops have been billeted in our offices, and we have nowhere to hold meetings. We held our offices on lease, and have not been allowed to renew the lease. Thus neither the miners’ nor the metal workers’ section has any premises, as troops are in occupation of both houses. We do not get our trade papers, or the Socialist journal *Népszava*. No authority is willing to admit responsibility for these measures; all the same, the papers fail to arrive. In May we came to an agreement on the subject with the police, but we still fail to get our papers. Our correspondence is censored. If the police see three men meet, they threaten them with 25 lashes.

Q. — Are you worried while you are reading your trade papers?

A. — No, but we dare not read them in public. One work-

man who collected trade union subscriptions at the works after working hours was sent to prison for ten days, and the police confiscated the Union books. In this mining district there are four local miners' branches and two metal workers' branches. Only two of these branches own any premises. The treasurer of the local miners' branch at Salgótarján was arrested in October and only released in February. The funds of the Union amounted to 50,000 crowns, which were deposited in a bank. This sum has been seized and not returned. Two other members of the Union were arrested last month as well as the member who collected the subscriptions. The police often come and search the workmen's houses on pretext of looking for articles and equipment belonging to the Treasury.

Q. — Do you not hold meetings at the mines?

A. — No.

Q. — Can you easily get leave of absence from the mines?

A. — We can get leave of absence, but while we are away we do not get our fat ration.

Q. — Are any of the workmen under the direct supervision of the police?

A. — Workmen who have been interned have to report to the police twice a day. They are not allowed to receive letters or telegrams. Some persons, who were arrested and then released, were afterwards re-arrested on the same charge. Seven members of the Metal Workers' Union are still interned, as well as the chairman of the Union, and this in spite of a statement from the management of the mines that they had rendered it services during the Communist period.

Q. — Does the company make any distinction between Social Democrats and Christian Socialists?

A. — The company looks on Social Democrats with disfavour, but is very friendly towards the Christian Socialist Unions. The company itself nominates the delegates who are to negotiate with it, and always selects

Christian Socialists, in whom the workers have no confidence.

Q. — What are the actual hours of work?

A. — Twice a week we work 12 hours, three times a week 8 hours. We were told that we must work 4 hours' overtime on Saturdays, or we should not receive our rations. We agreed, because it was in the national interest. One man, who suggested that we should refuse to work overtime on Fridays, was arrested, beaten, and kept in prison for six weeks.

*Joint Interview with the Public Authorities,
Representatives of the Mines Management and various
Trade Union Secretaries*

We held a meeting at which representatives of the employers, of the civil and military authorities, and the secretaries of the trade unions were present, in order to investigate certain disputed points. The interpreter translated from Hungarian into French.

Q. — Was the February strike partial or general?

A. — (*Employers*). It was a partial strike, but there were 1,500 men idle.

Q. — Why were arrests made at that point?

A. — (*The Public Authorities*). The persons in question were not arrested on account of the petition, but because they were in possession of Communist symbols.

Q. — What symbols?

A. — (*The Public Authorities*). There was a placard, saying "Long live the Communist Workers," a red flag, and another placard saying "Long live the Three Eights." Two were arrested as agitators.

Q. — Why were the stamped subscription books belonging to the unions confiscated, and why were they not returned?

At this point all the representatives of the civil and military authorities began to talk at once. They finally said that this was the first they had heard of such a thing. The Coal Commissioner undertook to make a report on the matter.

An Employer: They came to me yesterday to tell me about this business.

Q. — But in any case, the statement is either true or not true. What happened to the books?

The civil and military authorities replied that they did not know. The manager had only heard of the matter, because he had been told of it the day before.

Mr. Beliczky, Police Commandant: The collection of subscriptions was held to constitute an unauthorized meeting, at which attempts were being made to enrol new members.

Q. — Then you are acquainted with the matter? You have heard of it?

Mr. Beliczky: We are quite impartial. The best proof of that is that we confiscated the journal of the Christian Socialists, and brought a prosecution against it.

Q. — Why?

A. — The Christian Socialists had not deposited the necessary 10,000 crowns as guarantee, and had not given notice of the publication of their journal.

Q. — Why do the Socialist and trade papers not arrive?

The General Secretary of the Miners' Union confirmed the statement that they failed to arrive; the Lieutenant of Police denied it.

Q. — Are the representatives of the Miners' Federation able to come here and hold meetings?

Mr. Batta, Secretary of the Miners' Federation: A permit is required in order to travel, and I could not obtain one, when I wanted to come here and hold an authorized meeting. In December I was arrested here, beaten, and sent back after being threatened with a revolver.

Mr. Beliczky, Police Commandant: It was not the State police which prevented Batta from coming on that occasion.

At this point Mr. Pardo handed Dr. Szanadai, the *Főszolgabíró*, the annexed list of meetings, which the trade union had wished to hold, and which had not been allowed.

Meetings proposed and prohibited

May 25, at Homoktéreny
May 25, at Baglyásalja
July 11, at Homoktéreny
July 11, at Baglyásalja
July 25, at Homoktéreny
July 25, at Baglyásalja
August 29, at Homoktéreny
August 29, at Baglyásalja
August 29, at Salgötärján

A meeting was allowed on May 16. Committee meetings had to be notified; they had invariably been prohibited.

Dr. Szanadayi: I do not remember these meetings. If I had known you were going to produce a list, I should have prepared an answer. Anyway, the town of Salgötärján is not under my control.

Mr. Beliczky, Police Commandant: I gave permission for a number of meetings.

Dr. Szanadayi: It is now half-past three. If you want to see the Christian Socialists and catch the 4 o'clock train, I think it is time to conclude this discussion.

*Interview with Workmen belonging
to the Christian Socialist Trade Union at Salgötärján*

The Christian Socialist workmen regretted the dissensions in the working classes, but said they had been obliged to separate from the Socialists, when they saw that most of the latter were Communists at heart and cared nothing for national interests. The distinguishing feature of the Christian Socialist unions was thus their constant preoccupation with the interests of the country, which they placed before class interests.

The Christian Socialist unions have 600 members among the miners at Salgötärján. To these must be added the metal workers and the officials. The total is probably about 1,800.

Membership of the Christian trade unions is entirely voluntary. There is no compulsion on the worker to join these organizations.

On the contrary, they stated, we have to display a certain amount of courage: for our opponents never cease to tell us that, when the situation again alters, we shall be mercilessly persecuted. As things are, it is impossible to speak of pressure being exercised in any direction. Everybody is quite free. It is not true that the men's representatives are appointed by the management. Each trade union appoints its own representatives, and the management negotiates with them. Nobody is forced to apply to our representatives in order to make a complaint. At the most it might happen that workmen who have not had the courage to join the Christian trade union, and who do not belong to the Socialist union either, might ask our representatives to speak for them. This, however, is quite voluntary.

The employers do not show any kind of favouritism to the Christian Socialist trade unions.

Generally speaking, workers have no reason to complain of working conditions. They get leave whenever they ask for it on account of some serious reason.

Interview with the Employers

Q. — Do you not yourself appoint the men who are to represent your workmen?

A. — No. We always let our workmen choose their own representatives, and we never influence them.

Q. — Can you explain the system of overtime?

A. — Before the war the miners worked 12 hours a day; during the Károlyi régime and the Bolshevik régime the working day was reduced to eight hours. It is, however, absolutely necessary to increase coal output. It is also to the workers' own interest to work longer hours, for in that way they can earn more money. It was the company which in the first place asked for leave to introduce overtime; at first one 12-hour day per week was introduced: now two 12-hour days are worked; and the introduction of a third 12-hour day is under dis-

cussion. In theory overtime is not compulsory, but it is so in practice, because men who work overtime receive food rations, especially fat and flour. We introduced overtime when we saw that wages were too low. The Christian Socialists consider that we were entirely justified in taking this step.

We have no complaint against our workmen, but their state of mind is dependent on the situation elsewhere. We are convinced that Communist agitation is being carried on. When the Red Army was successful, the attitude of the workers used to change. They hoped for the restoration of Bolshevism. Acts of sabotage were committed, production diminished, and they began to threaten the Christian Socialists.

Q. — Do the men do piece-work or time-work?

A. — They always do piece-work; output has doubled since we introduced this system. The Government thinks it desirable to introduce a 10-hour day in the mines, but this is only a suggestion on their part.

After making our inquiries at Tatabánya and Salgótarján, we had an interview at Budapest with the Military Coal Inspector, General Riedel. He made the following statement :

There are two kinds of workers. There are the Christian Socialists, who are nationalists and help in the reconstruction of the country, and there are the Socialists, who are internationalists, and who also help in the reconstruction of the country, but not willingly. You know what the effects of Communism have been on this country. It is now our duty, in accordance with the will of His Serene Highness, who is head of the State, to prevent the recurrence of such events, and we should not hesitate to crush by armed force the slightest attempt at reintroducing Communism.

You must remember that the working classes in Hungary have only very lately been organized. In the mines organization was practically non-existent before the

Communist period ; since that time it has developed in a destructive direction. Thus it is very natural that we should take precautions against it. You must remember, too, that the workers are naturally very credulous, especially of anything bad. It is very difficult to make them believe in their employer's goodwill, very easy to convince them that he wishes them harm, and more especially to persuade them that the miners are in all countries kept on a lower level of culture than any other class of workers. In view of all this, we have to be very careful, especially at Salgótarján, where the situation is a peculiar one. Some of the workings extend to the frontier : a large number of men who work in these mines live in Slovakia. It is very difficult to supervise these elements. On Sunday they go to the neighbouring town of Losencz, where there is a regiment which holds thoroughly Red opinions, which cares nothing either for Mr. Bénès or for Mr. Masaryk, for God or Satan, which respects no one but its own leader, and obeys his every order. When the commanding officer of the Red regiment says that no trains shall pass the frontier, no trains do pass, and so on with other things. Our men go there, and hear and see what goes on ; and we have to be much more careful here than anywhere else. You have been shown some of the pamphlets which came across the frontier ; the Socialists say that they do not approve of them. That's all very well ; but can you imagine any one of them dreaming of denouncing the people who print them or bring them across ? We may question all and sundry : no one ever admits any knowledge of anything. This may perhaps show an excellent spirit of solidarity ; what it singularly fails to show is any spirit of solidarity with their native Hungary.

If, under these circumstances, we allowed meetings to be held, it would mean allowing free communication between our workmen and the Reds at Losencz. We cannot do this. You would be surprised to see how anything that happens on the other side of the frontier is instantly

known to everybody here ; within an hour's time, they all prick up their ears and begin to wonder what advantage they can get out of it.

Moreover, the holding of meetings is decidedly no more prohibited than is the formation of organizations. The information supplied to you mostly refers to the past. Eleven days have not yet passed since the publication of the order by the Ministry of the Interior, and the workmen have not yet had time to make trial of it. They go on complaining about past refusals, without realizing that they can now organize freely. Nevertheless, the condition still holds absolute that they abstain from politics ; that I could not allow. But as far as their professional interests are concerned, they can organize as much as they like.

I admit that the system at Salgótarján is not ideal. You have probably gained the impression that the workmen are being tyrannized over ; nothing of the kind is the case. Not only are material conditions, however, more difficult here than in other places, but there are also questions of organization which are not quite satisfactory. When our Department sends a Commissioner to a mining district, we make the most thorough inquiries before we appoint him, and we keep a close watch on him. He has to be the best possible man. The police cannot be so careful in choosing persons they employ. Again, it must be admitted that the we have not yet succeeded in making the organization of the town and the neighbouring communes as uniform as it should be. This, however, is just the reason why military control is desirable, and why it does, in fact, produce very good results.

All we care about is output. We only exist in order to supervise, remove difficulties, watch the men's state of mind and improve it. It would only be necessary for us to interfere in practice, if there were strikes or disturbances, for Hungary must have coal. But we are absolutely neutral towards all interests other than the national interest, and we are the only people who display this kind of impartiality.

I do not in the least care whether people are Christians, Jews, or bishops, so long as they produce coal. That is why the workmen generally prefer to bring their little troubles to the Military Commissioner. Colonel Parnitzky, who had to be away yesterday for urgent family reasons, has all his life been interested in labour questions. He understands the workmen, and does a great deal to help them. There are always numbers waiting to see him.

You have been told that workmen have been flogged. It is most regrettable, and I disapprove of it. But it was a case of individual error on the part of certain members of the police force. It is damaging to our aims, but it cannot be taken as a reason for condemning our organization.

The regulations for giving notice are reciprocal. The workmen may not know this, or believe it, but it is the case. If a workman wants leave of absence, he has to produce a paper, and this can be given him by the management. If he wants to be absent from work to cultivate his land, he is allowed to do so under certain guarantees that he will actually work. Again, should he want to leave his mine for another, he is allowed to do so, on condition that he has already obtained employment there. Otherwise we should lose workmen whom we need. On the other hand, the management cannot dismiss a workman unless he has committed an act contrary to discipline or law, such as threatening his superior with a knife, or stealing. You would be surprised to hear that at Tatabánya some of the workmen stole things simply in order to be dismissed, so that they could go and work in Slovakia, where they could earn more. We are very strict with the companies. At Salgótarján, nine workmen have just been dismissed for reasons which we do not consider sufficient; we are demanding that they shall be reinstated.

We are working under difficulties of all kinds, and in each place they are different. At Miskolcz, for example, there are new and old pits. In order to compensate the companies for the expenses of starting the new pits, they have

been allowed to sell the coal from these pits at a higher price; this enables them to pay their workmen more. We now have a continual fight to prevent the workmen from leaving their employment to go and get work in the new pits. Although this is of course quite natural, we cannot allow it.

Overtime work is not compulsory. Thus, the workmen who live a long way from the pits do not work overtime, as they would not be able to get home. But for those who live near the pits it is no very great sacrifice. They always worked twelve hours a day before the war. We allowed them to choose how overtime should be apportioned between the different districts. That was arranged with Batta¹: I often send Batta down when we want to persuade the workmen to some course; he knows how to talk to them and he has great influence over them.

Individual production has now reached 95% of what it was before the war. Collective production, however, is only 40%. The chief reason for this is that in most of the mines there are not enough workmen, especially skilled workmen, to form the third shift.

¹ General Secretary of the Miners' Federation.

CHAPTER VII

The Trade Unions and Politics

In view of the statements which have been quoted above, the Mission of Inquiry of the International Labour Office in Hungary considered it important to investigate the political action undertaken by the Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, and more especially the attitude which it adopted under the Communist régime.

It may be recalled that, though the trade unions were not affiliated to the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, (which adheres to the Second International), they often contributed to the expenses of candidates belonging to this Party. The two organizations have many members in common, and the trade unions themselves are proud to claim the title of "Social Democrats". The Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions is affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Regent stated, in the speeches quoted above, that the Socialists had all become Communists, and he repeated this statement to us. The Minister of Justice did not conceal his opinion.

Communism, he said, was prepared in the workmen's organizations, and the trade union leaders have always said that Socialism and Communism were the same thing and only differed in their methods. Communism at first attracted only the quite young workers, but later all the workmen adhered to it. Without the organized workmen it would not be possible to organize Communism.

We questioned the members of trade unions. Their replies were quite definite. One of them made the following statement :

It is not true that the trade unions took any part in establishing Communism. This statement is a falsehood deliberately invented by the Government for their own purposes. It was not the workers, but the returned soldiers who supported Communism. The real working classes played an extremely small part in the Bolshevik régime. The trade unions had no official status and did not collaborate with the Government in any way. At one time they were entrusted with recruiting for the Red Army; but the Government was not satisfied with the way they carried out this work and took it out of their hands. The trade unions had nothing

to do with the distribution of food-cards, as has been falsely asserted. It was not necessary to be a member of a trade union in order to be entitled to a food-card. The fact is, that the Communist Government intended to have three classes of the population with different rations. The workers were to have a card of one colour, giving the right to a certain ration; the employers, another card, entitling them to less, and persons of independent means a third card, entitling them to less still. The trade unions, however, opposed this plan, as the ration was, in any case, a minimum; and the scheme was not carried out.

All through the rule of the People's Commissaries, there was a Socialist opposition; this opposition was formed by the trade unions. At the end of May a conference of leaders was held, in order to discuss possible public action against the Government. The reason why such action failed to be initiated was the Roumanian advance shortly afterwards; discipline then became identified with national defence. If the Communist régime had lasted, however, action would again have been taken up.

A second trade union member made the following statement :

Even before the Revolution, Communist tendencies were apparent in the trade unions, or at any rate, in some of them. The tendency towards Communism, however, greatly lacked strength.

When the October Revolution began, the Government decided to use the trade unions as agents for the distribution of relief to the unemployed. The immediate result was to attract an enormous number of people to the trade unions. Most of these were soldiers, more or less deserters, who had returned from the front and who were not real workers. They were mostly, of course, Communists. Thus the Communist element gained ground in the trade unions. For about two months the trade unions accepted the Communist régime quietly. Subsequently, however, the workers began to realize that this government was not satisfactory to them.

Terrorism, under which the workers suffered quite as much as the bourgeoisie, had administration by inexperienced young men, and above all, the food shortage, caused great discontent among the working classes, and the trade unions began to form an active opposition.

A third trade union member made the following statement :

At the beginning of the Communist Revolution there was an understanding between the heads of the Social Democratic Party and the People's Commissaries¹, but the Social Democratic Party itself was never consulted, still less the trade unions.

We were several times obliged to act in opposition to the Communist Government : we held several meetings, at which Béla Kún was invited to be present, where we made strong protests against the measures taken by the Communists. I may even say that the Communist Government was preparing a decree dissolving the trade unions. It had no time to publish this decree, as at that moment it fell.

I must, nevertheless, add that we never publicly opposed the Communist Government. The actual position of the Federation is quite definite; it supports absolutely the democratic principles of the Second International. It also adheres to the Trade Union International of Amsterdam.

The opinion of the employers was of great importance. One of them made the following statement:

The trade unions were opposed to Bolshevism. During the Bolshevik régime we expected a counter-revolution originating with the trade unions. Their antagonism was quite clearly shown. The machine workers were particularly hostile to Bolshevism. -

I do not think, he continued, that there are many Communists in the trade unions; but the repression which

¹ Relations between the Communists and Socialists had previously been very strained. Béla Kún had been expelled from the party in 1910; he was re-admitted later, but threatened with expulsion in 1914 for misappropriation of party funds. The prosecution by the party was interrupted owing to military exigencies.

is now going on may revive Communism. I do not think that it will return, unless the Government goes further in this absurd policy.

A second employer made the following statement :

Communism was not supported by the best of the workmen. The organized workers of long standing did not play any active part, but did not make any active opposition either. They remained passive. During the war, however, a number of workers came in from the country seeking employment in munition work. It was these workers, who had no real interests in industry, who were Communists. I should estimate that of all our workers only 5 % at the very most were really Communists, and most of these did not understand what Communism was.

We asked the same question of several employers, whom we interviewed together. One of them made the following statement :

Very few of the workers were really Communists. It was owing to the advantages which they obtained from the system that they were Communists until about April 15.

Another employer said :

Had not the workers been opposed to it, Communism would have lasted much longer.

Q. — What is the position at the present time?

A. — My impression is that they are inclined to approve of Communism because they are discontented with the present state of affairs. It makes them suffer, and they want their revenge.

Another employer made the following statement :

Hardly 5 % of the workers were really Bolsheviks. The workers did not greet the dawn of Bolshevism with joy. They were not enthusiastic. They merely accepted the fact of Bolshevik rule. Quite soon, however, after a week or two, they realized that it would not last, and they were not sorry. The metal workers especially, the most intelligent

and the best organized of the workers, who have been trained longer in democratic ideas, very soon showed themselves hostile to the system. Generally speaking, the organized workers, who were imbued with the democratic spirit, disliked Communism.

Q. — But where did the Communists find supporters ?

A. — They found them among the young and among the unemployed. The trade unions neglected the young men and apprentices : so the Communists made use of them. I repeat that the great majority of workers were hostile to the Communist régime. I remained at my factory throughout the Communist period. After a week or two, the Commissary for Production at my factory said : “ Things are not going well. It cannot last. ”

Q. — Did the workers behave well during the Communist régime ?

A. — I have no complaint against them. I must say that, as far as I know, there were very few factories in which disturbances took place. I may also say that, after the fall of the Communist Government, the Commissary for Production in my factory and the five workers belonging to the Works Council came to us and said : “ We have done our duty. Treat us as you think fit. ” We kept them in the factory and they are our best workers.

The same employer added :

Had not a large proportion of the workers worked to oppose Communism in June and July, the Communist system would have lasted longer. They showed themselves hostile, especially during the recruitment of the Red Army. They refused to enlist, and only obeyed when the Red terror compelled them. They were very glad to see Communism destroyed.
